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THE

EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

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THE

EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

FROM HIS EARLIEST LETTERS
TO HIS FIFTY-FIRST YEAR

ARRANGED IN ORDER OF TIME

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE, WITH A COMMENTARY CONFIRMING THE CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT AND SUPPLYING FURTHER BIOGRAPHICAL MATTER

BY FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME THE SECOND

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PREFACE

SOME time since, the compiler of the following pages, having had his attention attracted to the correspondence of Erasmus, was struck by the observation, that a book of no little interest to his countrymen might be put together by an English editor, who would take the pains to pick out,—from the long series of mixed epistles of various dates included in the several printed collections,—the letters of Erasmus's earlier years, when so much of his life was spent in this country, and present them to the English reader, arranged in order of time, with selected translations in his own tongue. A volume designed upon this plan, and published by the present writer in 1901, contains an account of the correspondence of Erasmus from his earliest letters to an important epoch in his life, when,—upon receiving at Rome the news of the demise of King Henry VII. of England, which took place on the 21st of April, 1509,—he was induced by the advice of his friends, and by his own sanguine expectations, to hasten back to this country in order to profit by the liberal spirit, which seemed to be imparting a new character to the new reign. The first chapter of the present volume will show how far his anticipations of preferment and of fortune were justified

by the result; and the chapters that follow will carry on the account of his extant correspondence until the middle of August, 1517, when, after frequent migrations, which the reader may follow in detail by the account here given of his letters, Erasmus, in the latter part of his fifty-first year, had begun a residence at Louvain, that was to continue with little intermission for more than three years, but of which only the first six weeks, during which he was completing the arrangements consequent upon his removal, fall within the period comprised in this volume.

It will be seen that, especially during the last three years of this period, a large proportion of the epistles here translated or described are letters, not of Erasmus himself, but of his various correspondents. If I have counted right, out of three hundred and three epistles dated between the 1st of September, 1514, and the 16th of August, 1517,—the date of the last letter translated in this volume,—not quite one-third of the whole (including ten dedications) were written by Erasmus, the letters of his correspondents being twice as numerous as his own. The reader of these epistles in the version here presented to him may perhaps find an additional interest in the number and variety of their writers.

Most of our epistles of this time are derived from the manuscript collection preserved at Deventer, of which some account is given in the Introduction to our former volume. And after the close of the present volume the epistles included in Le Clerc's collection are still for some time mainly derived from the same source; but a much larger proportion are letters of Erasmus himself. This may be seen by a glance at the *Register of Epistles* printed in our

former volume. Some slight additions and variations have been made in the list and order of the Epistles, as compared with the Register; but these alterations being sufficiently explained in the text, it has not been thought worth-while to reprint a corrected Register, and so to add some further pages to a book which is already more bulky than might be wished.

Five short Appendices contain some letters and documents relating to Erasmus, which are translated or described in the text, but have either not been hitherto printed or are not easily accessible in a printed form. Of the first two Appendices the manuscript originals are in the English Record Office in London. The first,—Appendix A,—is the Latin text of the appeal made by the University of Cambridge to Lord Mountjoy for help in the payment of the 'immense stipend,' which had been promised to Erasmus, as Greek Professor. The pages that follow, under the heading Appendix I, supply the particulars of an episode in Erasmus's life in the autumn of 1513, when, the University of Cambridge being emptied by the plague, he sought refuge at the house of a friend living in a neighbouring village, whom we are able to identify as William Gunnell of Landbeach. Appendix K is the draft dedication of a translation from Plutarch, to Wolsey, lately nominated Bishop of Lincoln; in place of which, before its presentation, Erasmus substituted another composition. For a copy of the earlier draft I am indebted to Dr. Bernoulli, the Librarian of the University of Basel, in whose charge the original now remains. Appendix L is the Latin text of an Epistle addressed under Erasmus's direction by Peter Gillis

to Gaspar Halmal, which formed the dedicatory preface to a collection of Epistles printed at Louvain in 1516. And Appendix M is a letter of Erasmus to Ammonius, printed in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, but not found in any of the later collections of Epistles.

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P. 9, line 1. *For* English physician *read* Englishman.
P. 12, line 11, and P. 13, line 2. *For* 1526 *read* 1527.
P. 15, line 2. *For* draw *read* heed.*
P. 34, line 3. *For* be the same as G. S. *read* be William Gunnell.
Same page, line 7. *For* G. S. *read* Gunnell.
P. 94, line 25. *For* 10th of October *read* 5th of October.
P. 126, line 23. *Omit the word* Cardinal. *See p.* 503 *note.*
P. 197, *near the bottom, omit the line of asterisks.*
P. 208, line 23. *For* Epistle 347 *read* Epistle 377.
P. 299, line 6. *For* 488 *read* 489.
P. 306. Epistle 427 is the same as Epistle 498. The latter position is probably right.
P. 317, line 12. *For* EPISTLE 434b *read* See Epistle 454, p. 389.
P. 329, line 20. *For* Bère *read* Baer.
P. 338, line 12. *For* 486 *read* 487.
P. 390, line 16. *For* Cœlius *read* Cælius.
P. 391, line 20. *For* Cœlius *read* Cælius.
P. 408, line 21. *Add reference to Appendix L, p.* 619.
P. 449, line 11. *For* Epistle 514 *read* Epistles 515, 596.
P. 467, first line of note. *For* 543 *read* 536.
P. 548, line 3 of note. *For* 592 *read* 593.
P. 555, line 3. *For* 1516 *read* 1515.
P. 573, line 6. *Before* C. *add* Deventer MS.;

* The Greek words in this passage,—*οὐδαμῶς τηρεῖν τὸ συμβόλαιον*,—appear to mean, that Croke was not to be at all anxious about keeping the terms of the promissory note. It may be assumed that Ammonius had helped him with a loan of money, and received a promissory note for the amount.

THE EPISTLES OF ERASMUS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Return of Erasmus to England; Residence in London; Short visit to Paris. Composition and Publication of the Encomium Moriæ. *July*, 1509 *to August*, 1511. *Epistles* 212 *to* 218.

AS Erasmus in his first journey across the Alps had composed his verses on Old Age, which of all his poetical works pleased him best (see vol. i. p. 416), so his meditations during the enforced leisure of his return suggested to his mind the most widely known of his prose compositions, the Μωρίας ἐγκώμιον, or Praise of Folly, a work that could hardly have seen the light, if its author had accepted office in the Papal Court. The story of the origin of this celebrated book will be best told in the author's own words, from the dedicatory epistle to Thomas More (Epistle 212), which forms its Preface. This Epistle is printed in the original edition on three pages, beginning with the back of the Title;* and it is so repeated in other early editions.

EPISTLE 212. *Moria*, Paris, 1511; Ep. xxix. 55; C. iv. 402.

Erasmus to Thomas More.

When of late days† I was returning from Italy to England, being unwilling to waste the whole time that I

* I am indebted for a description of the original edition to Herr Schnorr von Carolsfeld, the director of the Royal Library at Dresden, where a copy of this rare book is preserved.

† Superioribus diebus.

had to spend on horseback in illiterate talk, I sometimes preferred either to think over some of our common studies, or to enjoy the recollection of the friends, no less amiable than learned, that I had left here. Of these, my More, you were among the first I called to mind, being wont to enjoy the remembrance of you in your absence, as I had, when you were present, enjoyed your company, than which I protest I have never met with anything more delightful in my life. Therefore, since at any rate something had to be done, and the occasion did not seem suited for serious meditation, I chose to amuse myself with the Praise of Folly. What Pallas, you will say, put that idea into your head? Well, the first thing that struck me was your surname of More, which is just as near the name of *Moria* or Folly, as you are far from the thing, from which by general acclamation you are remote indeed. In the next place I surmised, that this playful production of our genius would find special favour with you, disposed as you are to take pleasure in jests of this kind,—jests, which, I trust, are neither ignorant nor quite insipid,—and generally in society, to play the part of a sort of Democritus; although for that matter, while from the unusual clearness of your mind you differ widely from the vulgar, still such is your incredible sweetness and good nature, that you are able to be on terms of fellowship with all mankind, and are delighted at all hours to be so. You will therefore not only willingly receive this little declamation, as a memento of your comrade, but will adopt and protect it, as dedicated to you and become not mine, but yours. For censors will perhaps be found who may complain, that these trifles are in some parts more frivolous than becomes a theologian, and in others more aggressive than consists with Christian modesty, and will exclaim that we are bringing back the old Comedy, or the Satire of Lucian, and seizing everything by the teeth. But those who are offended by the levity and drollery of the

subject should consider, that this is no new precedent of mine, the same thing having been done over and over again by great authors ; that many ages ago Homer made sport with the Batrachomyomachia, Maro with his Gnat and Salad, Ovid with his Nut ; that Polycrates and his corrector Isocrates eulogized Busiris, Glauco injustice, Favorinus lauded Thersites and the ague, Synesius baldness, Lucian the fly and the parasitic art ; that Seneca wrote a ludicrous apotheosis of the emperor Claudius, Plutarch the dialogue of Gryllus with Ulysses, Lucian and Apuleius both chose the Ass for a subject, and an author mentioned by Jerome the testament of the pig, Grunnius Corocotta.

Therefore these gentlemen, if they please, may suppose me to have been playing a rubber of bowls for my own recreation, or, if they like it better, to have been riding a hobby horse. For when we allow every department of life to have its own amusements, how unfair would it be to deny to study any relaxation at all ; especially if the proposed pastime may lead to something serious, and ridiculous subjects be so treated, that a reader not altogether thickheaded may derive more profit from them than from some solemn or brilliant arguments found elsewhere ; as when one author in a studied oration eulogizes Rhetoric or Philosophy, another writes the praises of some prince, advocates a war against the Turks, predicts future events, or invents fresh quibbles about things of no importance at all. For as nothing is more trifling than to treat serious questions frivolously, so nothing is more amusing than to treat trifles in such a way as to show yourself anything but a trifler. Of my work it is for others to judge, but unless I am altogether deceived by self-esteem, we have praised Folly not quite foolishly.

To reply to the imputation of mordacity, I would observe that genius has always enjoyed the liberty of ridiculing in witty terms the common life of mankind, provided only the licence did not pass into fury. And this makes me more

surprised at the nicety of people's ears in the present day, which can scarcely bear anything but solemn titles. Indeed you may find some so perversely religious, that they will rather tolerate the gravest insults directed against Christ, than suffer a Pope or Prince to be aspersed with the slightest jest,—especially if the matter affects the loaves and fishes.

But when a writer censures the lives of men without reflecting on anyone by name, I would ask whether he does not appear as a teacher and adviser rather than a detractor. And pray, how many names can I accuse myself of mentioning? Besides he who passes over no class of mankind is evidently angry with no individual, but with every vice; and therefore if any one shall be found to cry out that he is hit, he will either betray his consciousness, or at any rate his fear. St. Jerome used this kind of writing with much more freedom and bitterness, sometimes not sparing to mention names; while we altogether avoid names, and so temper our pen, that the intelligent reader may easily see that we have sought rather to amuse than to wound. For we have not followed Juvenal's example, nor made acquaintance anywhere with the hidden sink of wickedness, but have endeavoured to pass under review not so much what is shocking as what is ridiculous. Finally, if there is anyone not appeased by these arguments, he may at any rate recollect that it is an honour to be blamed by Folly, and as we have made her the speaker, we were bound to preserve the consistency of the character. But what need have I to suggest such arguments to an accomplished advocate like you, who are able to plead with the greatest skill even causes that are not the best. Farewell, most eloquent More, and defend your *Moria* with all your might.

From the country, 9 June [1510].

The above date, *Ex rure Quinto Idus Iunias*, without the year, is found in the first edition, and also in other early editions of the

Moria, as in those printed by Schürer at Strasburg, in August, 1512, and by Thierry Martens at Antwerp in October of the same year. The year date, 1508, which is found in later editions, was added afterwards with the usual carelessness; the whole of that year was spent by Erasmus in Italy. That which I have substituted is right, if, as I assume, the Epistle was written as a preface to the *Moria* at the time when the Author was preparing for its first publication by the Press. The preface informs us, that the subject was suggested to the author's mind during his journey from Italy; and we learn elsewhere that the book was composed in the few days of leisure which followed his arrival in England. But the date *Ex rure* indicates that the Epistle was not written with the principal work, which is elsewhere described as composed at More's house in London, but was added in some country or suburban retreat, where the author probably revised the book in the following summer in company with the same friend. Compare the history of this work, extracted from the Catalogue of Lucubrations, in pp. 15, 16.

An Epistle of a later date (Epistle 317), addressed by the author to Martinus Dorpius in defence of the *Moria*, the publication of which had been regretted by his correspondent, contains the following account of its composition and publication.

I was staying with More after my return from Italy, when I was kept several days in the house by lumbago. My library had not yet arrived; and if it had, my illness forbade exertion in more serious studies. So, for want of employment, I began to amuse myself with the Praise of Folly, not with any intention of publishing the result, but to relieve the discomfort of sickness by this sort of distraction. I showed a specimen of the unfinished work to some friends in order to heighten the enjoyment of the ridiculous by sharing it. They were mightily pleased, and insisted on my going on. I complied, and spent some seven days upon the work; an expenditure of time, which I thought out of proportion to the importance of the subject. Afterwards the same persons who had encouraged me to write contrived to have the book taken to France and printed, but from a

copy not only faulty but incomplete. The failure of the work to please the public was sufficiently shown by its being propagated in type more than seven times in a few months, and that in different places; I wondered myself, what people found to like in it.*

After preparing the Dedicatory Preface, of which a translation has been given above, Erasmus appears to have hesitated for some time before committing the *Moria* to the Press. The little book might well bring its author into trouble. It included, among its lighter pages, a grave indictment of the ruling order throughout Europe, and of the Roman Authorities, both in their ordinary practice, and especially under the rule of a belligerent Pontiff. The following picture of the Court he had lately left may serve to show, that in some passages the Author, as indeed he intimates in his Preface, treats his subject in no trifling mood. Folly herself, who is the supposed speaker, assumes for the moment a serious tone.

Moriæ Encomium. C. iv. 482-484.

If the Cardinals claim to be successors of the Apostles, they should consider that the same things are required of them as were practised by their predecessors. Regarding themselves as dispensers of spiritual gifts, for which they must before long render a strict account, they would either not retain the office, or else they would surely live as painful and anxious lives as the Apostles themselves. So, if the Popes, being the Vicars of Christ, endeavoured to emulate his life, his labours, his teaching, his Cross, his contempt of this world, if they thought only of their name of Pope, that is, Father, and their title, Most Holy, what more afflicted beings would there be on Earth? Who in that case would purchase the post with all his fortune, and when purchased, keep it with the sword, with poison and with violence? If

* See more of this Epistle, Chapter xxv.

Wisdom once stepped in, what abasement would indeed be theirs! Wisdom, did I say? Nay, one grain of that salt of which Christ speaks. Their wealth, their honours, their victories and their pleasures would all be gone, and in their place would be studies, sermons, prayers, tears, vigils, fastings, and a thousand miserable labours of the same kind. Neither should we forget what would follow: a whole host of clerks, notaries, advocates and secretaries, of muleteers, grooms and serving-men (I might add other words which would shock modest ears) would be reduced to famine. This would be a cruel result; but it would be still more shocking to see the Princes of the Church themselves, the very Lights of the world, reduced to a scrip and staff! As things are now, if there is any labour, it is left to Peter and Paul, who have leisure to attend to it; if there is any splendour or pleasure, it is taken for themselves. And so, thanks to My influence there is scarcely any kind of people who live more at ease than do these successors of the Apostles; thinking that Christ is quite satisfied, if in a mysterious, theatrical costume, with their ceremonies and titles of Beatitude, Reverence and Holiness, with their blessings,—and their curses,—they play the part of Bishops. Miracles are out of date; teaching the people is laborious; explaining the Scripture is the employment of schools; praying is idle; weeping is wretched and womanly; poverty is sordid; to be conquered in battle is unworthy of one who scarcely admits the highest kings to kiss his Blessed feet; to die is disagreeable; to be crucified is ignominious. There remain only arms, and those "fair speeches," of which Paul makes mention,* and of these they are liberal enough, to wit, interdictions, suspensions, anathemas, and that terrific thunder, whereby with a single nod they send men's souls to furthest Tartarus. These thunders are most eagerly launched by the most Holy Fathers in Christ against those,

* Romans xvi. 18.

who by the instigation of the Devil endeavour to diminish the patrimony of Peter. But what says Peter in the Gospel? "Lord, we have left all, and followed Thee." And yet they give the name of *his* patrimony, to provinces, and cities, for which they fight with fire and sword and much shedding of Christian blood; as though there were any more pernicious enemies of the Church than impious pontiffs, who by neglect of teaching allow Christ to be forgotten, who bind him by laws made for profit, adulterate by forced interpretations, and slay by a pestilent life. And whereas war is a thing so fierce and cruel as to be more suitable to wild beasts than to men, so impious that it cannot at all be reconciled with Christianity, nevertheless this is the one business to which they give their attention. Among them you may see decrepit old men display the energy of a youthful spirit, deterred by no cost, fatigued by no labours, if so they can turn laws, religion, peace and all human affairs upside down. Nor are there wanting learned flatterers, who to this plain insanity give the name of zeal, of piety, and of fortitude, having devised a way in which a man may draw his sword and sheath it in his brother's body, without any violation of Christian charity.

The book containing this fierce denunciation of the papal Court, and especially of the reigning Pontiff, had already been circulated in manuscript among several friends in England. It was too late therefore to attempt any such concealment of authorship, as was afterwards successfully practised in the case of the *Julius Exclusus*, a posthumous attack upon the same Pope, whose character was especially odious to Erasmus. On the other hand, while still intent on the publication of the *Moria*, he shrank from the responsibility of appearing to authorize it. If he sent the book to Bade or to Thierry Martens, he would probably be involved in a correspondence about it, which might preclude any future disclaimer. He resolved therefore at last, after a delay of several months, to take it himself to Paris, where he had some other business which might serve as a plausible reason for his journey.

During his residence in London Erasmus found a generous and

useful friend in William Grocin, a learned English physician, among whose protégés was Richard Croke, a youth who was afterwards a distinguished Greek scholar, and professor of that language, first at Leipzig and afterwards at Cambridge, and who shortly before this time appears to have gone, probably with Grocin's help (see p. 22), to pursue his studies at Paris, where some Greek refugee teacher might perhaps still be found. See vol. i. 312, 314, 440. About the same time Erasmus had made the acquaintance of one of the most sympathetic and devoted of all his friends, Andreas Ammonius of Lucca, who had already been in England for some years before the accession of Henry VIII. and was afterwards Latin Secretary to the young King.* In the early part of his residence in this country he had passed some time at Cambridge, possibly as a teacher of the learned languages, and Erasmus during his second visit to England had missed seeing him. Since that time Ammonius had settled in London, where he enjoyed the protection of Lord Mountjoy, and assisted him in his correspondence. See vol. i. p. 460. Congenial tastes and some similarity in their positions now drew the two strangers together; and during Erasmus's longest visit to England, Ammonius, who was eleven years his junior (C. iii. 788F), became his most intimate confidant, and remained so until his own death, which occurred on or about the 19th of August, 1517. See Epistles 611, 630, and notes thereupon in the Register of Epistles. In the spring and summer of 1511, they both appear to have been either guests of More, or to have occupied rooms in the same house in Bucklersbury (Epistles 214, 217, 225), and on his departure for Paris Erasmus took charge of a small collection of Latin Poems by Ammonius, which the latter wished to print with a dedication to lord Mountjoy.

Another work ready for the Press was a short Essay upon the best method of teaching the learned languages, which Erasmus had lately composed in the form of an Epistle, dated 15 March,† and addressed to a friend, named Guilielmus Thaleius, who appears to have been by

* It appears from a letter of Ammonius, Epistle 378, that he had been a protégé of Silvester de Giglis, an Italian who was appointed bishop of Worcester in 1479 (in succession to his uncle, John de Giglis, who had held that see for a few months), and resided in Rome as Ambassador for Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

† The date *Londini, Idibus Martiis*, which is found in the first edition of this work, printed by J. Granion at Paris in 1511 (a copy of which is in the British Museum), is omitted in the later editions.

profession a school-master or private teacher, and at this time resident in England. EPISTLE 213. *De Ratione Studii*, Paris, 1511, C. i. 519. In later editions of this essay the opening paragraph was printed separately as a dedicatory epistle addressed to another school-master friend, Petrus Viterius. See Epistle 251. A new edition of the Adages was also talked of (Epistles 215, 217), but no such edition is known to have been published in Paris in this or the following year.

When at last, early in April, 1511, Erasmus left London, he was able to take advantage of the society and protection of lord Mountjoy, who was probably bound for the Castle of Hammes (part of the defences of Calais), of which he was Governor or Captain; and the travellers appear to have stayed on their way at the Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury. Before crossing the Channel, Erasmus addressed a few lines to Ammonius from Dover.

EPISTLE 214. Farrago, p. 230; Ep. viii. 38 (2); C. 147 (169).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I have found an opportunity here at Dover of showing your poems to our Mæcenas, who approved throughout of their wit and learning. But he did not seem to be much pleased with your preface for the very reasons which, not being unacquainted with his character, I anticipated when with you. It is strange how he shrinks from any suspicion of vain-glory. He bade me therefore omit the preface, if I published the book, saying that the verses addressed to him would serve as a Preface. Moreover in the verses, where you speak of what is done by most persons of his rank, and make mention of dice and revellings, he is afraid that this passage will breed some prejudice against both you and him, as if he was pleased to hear his order censured. If you alter the preface, please add some allusion to the eclogue dedicated to him, as I find he wishes that to be done on

account of the praises of England and of the King, with which he is especially delighted. With respect to this matter I shall wait for your letter, which please send to Josse Bade; for without hearing your opinion I am not going to alter a word in your writings. Farewell, sincerest of friends. Salute More for me; and congratulate Linacre in my name; the news I heard at the Archbishop's was not unwelcome. Remind More to see that the books I left in my chamber be returned to Colet.

Dover, 10 April, [1511].*

Dr. Thomas Linacre had been admitted by the Archbishop at Canterbury, not many days before Erasmus's arrival there, to the Church of Hawkhurst in Kent upon the presentation of the Abbot and Convent of Battle. The official record of this promotion serves to confirm the date of Erasmus's journey.†

The next Epistle was written seventeen days later from Paris.

Epistle 215. Farrago, p. 202; Ep. viii. 4; C. 102 (110).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

Write to me at once, my Andrew, what you want done about the Preface to the Poems, since Mountjoy decidedly did not like it. Send me a note of the Proverb you shewed me, as mine are to be reprinted here. The Aldine copies are still on sale, and that at a moderate price, that is for a crown and a half, while at Rome they cost more. Any one who wants them should enquire of that Italian, who is

* Douarie. IIII. Id. Apr. *Farrago.* M D.XV. added in *Opus Epistolarum.*

† 24 die Mensis Mart. A.D. 1510 [1511] apud Cant. d'nus admisit Mag. Thomam Linacre M.D. ad eccl. parrochialem de Hawkehurst Cant. Dioc. per resignationem Mag. Stephani Benworth M.D. ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem ad præsentat. Abbatis et Conventus Monasterii de Bello. *Reg. Warham,* f. 341.

the only dealer in Aldus's books. You will commend me in every way to the Bishop of Durham, to whom I will write when I have time and a more sure messenger.

Paris 27 April [1511].*

By a later Epistle of Stephen Gardiner, the future minister and Bishop of Winchester, which has recently been printed by Mr. P. S. Allen from a manuscript preserved in the Municipal Library of Breslau,† we learn the place of Erasmus's residence during this visit to Paris, and also catch a glimpse of his first acquaintance with the writer. The epistle was one of a batch of letters sent to Basel in August, 1526, by various members of Cardinal Wolsey's household, who at that time claimed acquaintance with Erasmus.

Codex Rehdigeranus 252, Num. 68.

Stephen Gardiner to Erasmus.

If it is to be tolerated, that your memory should be recalled to the past upon so trifling an occasion, do you recollect a time some sixteen years ago, when you were staying at Paris with an Englishman named Eden, who lived in the Street of St. John. It was then, if I am not mistaken, that you first published your *Moria*; and you bought a great quantity of Greek and Latin books. Do you remember that there was then with Eden a lad, whom you ordered every day to dress you a dish of lettuce cooked with butter and sour wine, and declared that the dish was more daintily served by him than it was anywhere else? I am that

* Luteciæ. v. Cal. Maias. Anno M.D.X. *Farrago*. This is another example of the untrustworthiness of these year-dates, which were probably for the most part added upon the printing of the Epistles. The letter of a few days before (p. 11) is dated in *Opus Epistolarum* M.D.XV. See Introduction to Vol. i. p. lxvii.

† *Academy Journal*, vol. xlviii. pp. 317, 318.

Stephen Gardiner, who love you heartily, and, though absent, have faithfully kept up my acquaintance with you by the companionship of your books; but am now at last so torn from you by state affairs, that I fear I shall not for a time be allowed to enjoy that sweet society.

In Erasmus's answer to Gardiner, dated 3 Sept., [1526],* which was printed among his Epistles in the *Opus Epistolarum* of 1529, p. 849; Ep. xxi. 57; C. 1017 (896), he protests that he distinctly recollects his old acquaintance who was so serviceable to him at Paris, and congratulates him on his advancement under the patronage of Wolsey.

In reply to Epistles 214 and 215, Ammonius sent a fresh dedication of his Poems addressed to Mountjoy, which has been preserved among the Epistles of Erasmus, and printed in the *Farrago Epistolarum.* EPISTLE 216. *Farrago*, 179; Ep. vii. 6; C. 1855 (465). Another epistle of Ammonius to Erasmus accompanied the new dedication.

EPISTLE 217. Farrago, p. 230; Ep. viii. 39; C 155 (175).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

I see, most obliging Erasmus, that just as you in your prophetic judgment had guessed, the Preface to my nonsense does not meet with Mountjoy's approval. I therefore send you another. My new production seems to myself less bad than the former one, and if you will deign to touch it with your happy file, I even venture to hope it will be good. If your hand shrinks from such stuff, I cannot labour further in it to please you; though, if you were yourself concerned, I could risk my head. In any case, my Erasmus, I commend my name, little as it is, to your charge. If you see that these trifles will only bring me commiseration, put

* Basileæ tertio nonas Septemb. Anno M.D.XXVI. *Opus Epist.*

what end to them you will, and consult the honour of your humble friend.

I am glad to hear that your Adages are to be printed again at Paris, though I prefer the Aldine copies on account of the beauty both of the Latin and of the Greek characters. But I do not understand to what Italian you refer me, for I know of no Italian bookseller here. However, I will enquire more carefully, as I am most anxious to buy.

I did not fail to commend you to the Bishop of Durham. He was pleased with the message, and has some regard for you. He asked, when you were coming back; and I answered, soon, as far as I could guess. But a plague on the man to whom you gave your letter for me; for I suppose it was by his negligence that what you dated the 27th of April was not delivered to me till the 16th of May, so that I am afraid my answer may be too late.

There is scarcely any news here worth knowing, except about the king, who shows himself more divine every day. But this is no news to you. You are marvellously missed. As people know that we lodge together, I am deafened with the cries, What of Erasmus? When will he return? He is simply the sun of our age,—and many other things which I do not care to write, for fear of your resenting it. Our honeyed More, and his kind wife, who never thinks of you without a blessing, with his children and whole household, are in excellent health. Linacre has been presented to a living,* for which I deem that all the Muses offer thanks to Fortune. Your Leucophæus sends his greeting to you. Take care of yourself, and come back to us safe and sound.

* As to Linacre's preferment see p. 11. The above words, *Linacer sacerdotio auctus est*, are quoted by the author of the Life of Linacre in the Dictionary of National Biography, as referring to his ordination. But it appears from the same authority, that he put off taking priest's orders until 1520, when he was made Rector of Wigan. The *sacerdotium* was no doubt the living of Hawkhurst.

Greet the dear Polygraphus from me, and tell him by no means to draw the symbolæum.

London, 19 May [1511].*

The last sentence of the above letter is in Greek, and its meaning is not easily explained.† It may be conjectured, that Polygraphus, the ready writer, was Richard Croke, then studying at Paris, who had probably at some time acted as an amanuensis for Erasmus or Ammonius. See pp. 9 and 22. I cannot explain, who was the Leucophæus of the preceding clause.

Of the literary work in his charge, Erasmus appears to have delivered Ammonius's little book to the printer, Bade. An imperfect copy of this book, as printed, may be seen in the National Library at Paris. I do not know whether any example exists in England, where it was probably more widely distributed among the author's friends and patrons. In the Paris copy the first sheet with the title is at present missing; but in the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris, 1750, the book is entered with the following title: *Andr. Ammonii Lucensis Carmen Asclepiadeum et alia carmina.* Erasmus's own essay *de Ratione studii* was apparently entrusted to another printer, Jean Granion (see p. 9, note), while the *Moria* was placed in the charge of Richard Croke, in order that it might pass behind the back of the author into the hands of some publisher, to whom Erasmus was unknown. It appears to have been in fact printed by an obscure printer, named Gilles Gourmont, in a small volume in old-fashioned black letter type, without date or name of author. Erasmus seems to have wished, if he could not disclaim the authorship, at any rate to be able to disown the publication. Many years after, when the circumstances were of little consequence, he gave the following summary account of its history.

Catalogue of Lucubrations. C. i. Præf. Jortin, ii. 428.

The *Moria* was my amusement when I stayed at More's

* Londini. Decimoquarto Cal. Iunij. *Farrago*; M.D.XV. *add. Opus Epist.* 1529

† Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν φίλτατον πολυγράφον ἀσπάζου καὶ τὸ συμβόλαιον οὐδαμῶς τηρεῖν παράγγελλε.

house on my return from Italy. I had so mean an opinion of this production, that I did not think it worth editing ; for I was myself at Paris, when it was printed by means of Richard Croke in the worst possible type and with a multitude of errors.* Nevertheless scarcely any other work was received with more applause, especially among persons of rank. Only a few monks, and those of the lowest class with some ill-intempered theologians, took offence at its freedom. But more people found fault with it after Lystrius added his notes. It had been some advantage to the book not to be quite understood.

The above appears to have been written in 1523. When the author reprinted the *Catalogus* in 1524, he thought he had been unnecessarily explicit in his story ; the words *per Ricardum Crocum* were erased and *per nescio quos* substituted.

We have no further particulars of Erasmus's stay in Paris, where he probably arrived in the second week of April, and whence he had not returned to England on the 19th of May. After his return he appears to have remained in London during the summer and early autumn of 1511. No contemporary correspondence remains, to inform us of his movements, but it appears from a later epistle addressed to Roger Wentford (Epistle 230) that he was for some time the guest of Grocin, from whose house he proceeded to Cambridge; and we gather from Epistle 220, that towards the end of this period he suffered from a disease then frequent in this country, and commonly known as the Sweat, by an attack of which his friend Ammonius afterwards lost his life. See Epistle 630. C. 1652 (228). During these months the Praise of Folly spread rapidly among learned readers in France and Germany. Of the many reprints that followed its first publication one of the earliest was published at Strasburg by Matthias Schürer with an Epistle addressed to the author by James Wimpfling, a scholar of that

* Nam aderam Lutetiæ quum per Ricardum Crocum pessimis formulis depravatissime excuderetur. 'So this passage stands in the two first editions of the Catalogue of Lucubrations, published at Basel and Louvain, April and May, 1523.

city. EPISTLE 218. In Schürer's first edition this epistle bears date, *Ex Argentoraco xiiij Kal. Septembres Anni salutis nostrae* M.D.XI (19 Aug. 1511), and the author refers in it, if I understand him right, to a *Defensio Theologiæ*, published by himself about the same time, which he denies to be directed against the *Moria*. The book itself, in which this epistle appears, is dated in Schürer's imprint, *mense Augusto*, M.D.XI;* and Wimpfling's epistle is found with a like date (19 Aug. 1511), at the end of an edition of the Moria published by Thierry Martens at Antwerp in January, 1512. A second edition was published by Schürer in October, 1512, in which Epistle 218 is reprinted, with the date, August, 1512. Of the edition of Thierry Martens, and of the second edition of Schürer, there are copies in the British Museum.

* This edition is described by Mr. Reich, *Erasmus, Briefwechsel*, p. 132, note.

CHAPTER XIX.

Erasmus at Cambridge. Correspondence with Colet, Ammonius and Wentford; Translation of Basil on Isaiah; Letter to Bishop Fisher. August to December 1511. *Epistles* 219-241.

In August, 1511, Erasmus had spent more than two years at the English Court without having obtained any Church preferment or other permanent provision. Warham, who according to Lord Mountjoy's letter (Epistle 210) had promised to present him to a benefice, had apparently not yet found a favourable opportunity, but had made up liberally for the omission by donations from his own purse. There is no evidence that the King, upon whom he had mainly reckoned in coming to England, was any party to the invitation; beyond gracious words and gestures, he does not seem to have taken any notice of Erasmus. His residence during a great part of this period appears to have been with Grocin, who entertained him in his house, and would not hear of his bearing any part of the expenses. See Epistle 230.

While he was still waiting for the fulfilment of the expectations which had induced him to come to this country, he was persuaded by Bishop Fisher, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to do something for the cause of Humane Letters by undertaking a Greek lecture at that University, where he went to reside towards the end of August, 1511. His departure from London separated him from his most intimate friends, More, Colet and Ammonius, and led to a frequent interchange of letters between Cambridge and London, with the result that during the next four months of this year we have more epistles than during the preceding five years. More seems to have been by his own confession (see Epistle 397) a bad correspondent, seldom writing unless an occasion of business made it necessary. But in Ammonius (a stranger, like himself, seeking his fortune in England) Erasmus found a congenial ally, from whom he received frequent letters.

To assist him in his journey from London, which occupied two days, a horse for the use of his servant was sent from Cambridge by Henry Bullock, a Fellow of Queen's College, of which Bishop Fisher had been Master from 1503 to 1508, during the building of Christ's, the first college founded by lady Margaret. Bullock was Mathematical Reader at the University, and Erasmus in the following letter attributes to him, apparently in jest, a turn for astrology.

EPISTLE 219. Farrago, p. 309; Ep. x. 10; C. 108 (117).

Erasmus to Colet.

If our mishaps, my Colet, can make you laugh, there is cause for abundant laughter. For besides all that happened in London, the servant's horse went dreadfully lame, the carrier * having changed the one that Bullock had sent. Then there was nothing to eat on the whole journey. Next day continual rain until dinner; after dinner thunder, lightning and showers. The horse fell three times on his nose. Bullock has consulted the stars, and says that Jupiter was in an angry mood!

Now I have a fresh gratification. I see before me the footprints of Christian poverty. I have so little hope of any profit, that I understand I shall have to drop here whatever I may be able to tear from my patrons. There is a doctor here from my country who by the aid of the Fifth Essence proposes to work miracles, makes old men young, and brings the dead to life, so that I have some hope of becoming young again, if I can only get a taste of the quintessence. In that case I shall not be altogether sorry to have come here; as for profit, I see no chance of it. What can I take from those that are bare, not being a hard-hearted man, nor born under the good graces of Mercury?

* *Auriga.* Probably the Cambridge carrier of whom we read in later letters.

Farewell, most excellent preceptor. When we have begun our lecture, I will let you know how the thing answers, and so give you more occasion for laughter.

I shall venture perhaps even to attack your author, Paul. Only look at the boldness of your Erasmus. Farewell again.

Queen's College, Cambridge, St. Bartholomew's day (August 24) 1511.*

EPISTLE 220. Farrago, p. 211 ; Ep. viii. 16 ; C. 108 (118).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I send you a letter addressed to Bombasius. I have no news to write of my condition, except that the journey was most uncomfortable, and my health still somewhat doubtful from that Sweat. I think I shall be staying for some days at least in this College. I have not yet offered to read a lecture, wishing to have regard to my health. I do not like the beer of this place at all, and the wines are not satisfactory. If you can manage to get a skin of Greek wine, as good as can be had but free from sweetness, conveyed hither, you will bestow a real blessing on your Erasmus. You need not be anxious about the money ; it shall be sent beforehand if you like. This is the beginning of the advantages which are received from the most holy Bulls ; we are killed with thirst. You may guess what is to come ; we are not over the water yet. Farewell, dearest Ammonius.

Queen's College, the morrow of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 25) 1511.†

* Cantabrigiæ e collegio reginæ, natali diui Bartholomæi. *Farrago.* This date is put before the last clause, which is a postscript. After the postscript the year date, M.D.XI, is added in *Opus Epistolarum* 1529.

† Ex collegio reginæ, postridie Bartholomæi. *Farrago.* M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

The allusion to the most holy Bulls can only refer to the efforts of pope Julius II. to establish a Confederation for the defence of the claims of the Roman See against France. See Epistle 229; *Fœdera*, xiii. 503, 505, 511. Erasmus thought, that the prospect of war had already affected trade and raised the price of wine. After war had been declared in the winter of 1512, we find the same complaint repeated in Epistle 260.

The 'Epistle' mentioned at the beginning of the next letter was Erasmus's short tract *de Ratione Studii*, which, in the form of an Epistle to Guilhelmus Thaleius, had been printed at Paris. See pp. 9, 10; Epistle 213; C. i. 519. Linacre had been busy with an elementary work on Latin Grammar, which Colet had not chosen to use for his new school, but had employed his High Master, William Lily, to prepare another Grammar, in which Erasmus gave some help. These two works, Linacre's Grammar revised for the use of the Princess Mary, and Lily's, adopted by authority under Edward VI., became the foundation of the Grammars in common use for many generations, in France and England respectively. See the articles by Mr. Payne and by Mr. Lupton, on Lily and Linacre, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Epistle 221. Farrago, p. 314; Ep. x. 17; C. 131 (149).

Erasmus to Colet.

I send what you ask for,—the Office of Chrysostom, and the Epistle, in which, if I am not mistaken, there are things you will not approve, because you despise method and art. I attribute some importance to them, especially in a teacher.

As to Linacre, do not too readily believe what any one says. I am convinced that he has the highest respect for you, and is not so much hurt about the Grammar being rejected; though it is natural that every writer should be partial to his own compositions, as parents to their own children. I have not met with any person that I think a suitable under-master for your school, but shall continue to

enquire, and will inform you as soon as I find one. Farewell, excellent preceptor.

I have sometimes a drawn battle on your behalf with these Thomists and Scotists; but of them when we meet. I have begun to translate Basil on Isaiah, and am much pleased with the work. I will show a sample of it to the Bishop of Rochester, and see whether he is inclined to refresh our labours with some little reward. "What a beggar the man is!" I know well enough you will laugh. And indeed I hate myself, and am determined either to acquire some fortune which will relieve me from all this begging, or to live the life of Diogenes. Again, farewell.

If you have any money in your hands, entrusted to you for the assistance of scholars, I beg you to send some nobles to Richard Croke, formerly a servant and disciple of Grocin, who is now studying at Paris. He is a young man of great promise and one on whom, if I am not quite mistaken, you will do right in bestowing a kindness. Again my best of teachers, farewell.

Cambridge, 13 Sept. [1511].*

EPISTLE 222. Farrago, p. 201; Ep. viii. 1; C. 107 (116).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

You cheer us in two ways, dearest Andrew, your most delicious wine being accompanied by a still more delicious letter, which savours altogether of your mind and character, than which in my opinion there never was, and never will be, anything more sweet. Thank you for both. You are vexed at my speaking of the money. It was not that I had any doubt of your generosity, which is worthy of a princely

* Cantabrigiæ, Id. Septemb. *Farrago.* M.D.XIII. *Opus Epistolarum.*

fortune ; but I was thinking of your sending a largish cask * to last me some months, although even the one you have sent is too big to be accepted without payment from a man of modest means. The small Greek letter has given us a hearty laugh. I should be very unfair if I did not excuse More, occupied as he is with such important affairs.

I am surprised at your always sitting in your nest as you do, and never taking flight. If you have a fancy to visit this University again, you will be welcome to many, and above all to me. As to your bidding me return to town if my illness continues, I do not see what attractions London has for me, except the society of two or three friends. But of this another time.

I hear that Julius the Great is dead.

Farewell, most excellent Ammonius. Pray write to me frequently ; you cannot do anything that will please me more.

Cambridge, Queen's College [18 Sept.] 1511.

The above Epistle is dated in *Farrago*, Cantabrigiæ e collegio Reginæ. xvi. Cal. Septemb. In *Opus Epistolarum* the year date, Anno M.D.XI., is added. For *Calendas Septembres* I have ventured to read *Calendas Octobres*. Erasmus had evidently been some little time at Cambridge ; on the 17th of August he had scarcely left London ; see Epistle 219 and its date. The report of the Pope's death was a false rumour. He lived till the 20th of February, 1513.

Dean Colet was at this time busy with the foundation of his School at St. Paul's, and was glad to have the advice of Erasmus in determining his plan of instruction, preparing the required books, and selecting his masters. The important question of the choice of a Latin Grammar has been already mentioned, p. 21.

The epistle described at the beginning of the following letter was probably Erasmus's short treatise *De ratione studii*, which he appears to have printed at Paris in March, 1511, in the form of an epistle addressed to Guilelmus Thalcius, and to have afterwards reprinted

* Utrem majusculum.

with a new address to Petrus Viterius. Epistles 213, 251. See pp. 9, 10. Epistle 223 and another of Colet (Epistle 246) are the earliest which we owe to the Manuscript collection of Letters preserved in the Deventer Library, with the exception of one of a much earlier date (Epistle 179) addressed to Erasmus by Reyner Snoy. See vol. i. p. 372. The same collection contains two from Sixtinus and one from Bp. Fisher dated in 1512. All the other letters in that large collection are of the years 1514 to 1518. See Introduction, p. xxvi.

Epistle 223. Deventer MS. ; C. 1523 (4).

Colet to Erasmus.

What is it that you say I shall not approve ? What is there of Erasmus that I do not approve ? I have run through that Epistle of yours about Studies, not having been able as yet to peruse it leisurely ; and as I read it, I not only approve it all, but I truly admire your genius, and art, and learning, and copiousness, and eloquence. I have often wished that the boys at our school could be taught in the way you explain. I have often wished too, that we had such teachers as you have most wisely described, and when I came to that passage at the end of your Epistle, in which you profess that you could bring lads to a fair capacity of speaking both languages in fewer years than those pedants teach them to construe a sentence, Oh Erasmus, how I wished then, that I had you as a teacher in our school ! But I hope that you will give us some aid, if it is only in teaching our masters, when you come away from those Cambridge people. I will keep your copies, as you bid me, entire.* And about Linacre I will do as you both lovingly and prudently advise.

Do not cease to look out for an under-master for us, if there is any one there,—a man that will not give himself airs,

* Servabo exempla tua ut iubes integra.

nor disdain to be under the head-master. When you write that you sometimes do battle on my account with those myrmidons of Scotus, I am glad to have such a champion and defender. But it is an unequal and inglorious contest.

Pray go on and give us Basil; in so doing you will also give us Isaiah.

You will do well in my judgment and consult your own happiness, if you imitate Diogenes, take delight in your poverty and proclaim yourself a king of kings. Perhaps by despising money you will gain money and fortune. Among Christians the world follows those that fly from it. How is it that the Church has so much power and wealth, unless it be owing to her flying from them? But I know you do not like these paradoxes.

As to what you write about Richard Croke, I wonder what I have to do with other people's money. How came you to infer or suspect that I had by me any money in any way entrusted to me? I do not stand at the bedside of the dying, or pay court to moneyed widows, or meddle with rich men's wills, or seek the intimacy of the wealthy; I do not commend their sins, nor bid them redeem their crimes by putting money at my disposal. Take my word for it, in this country one who is not that sort of man is not likely to be in possession of eleemosinary funds. I have only my own moneys to deal with, and you know in what direction they flow. But I have been amused, Erasmus, and charmed at the same time with that innate simplicity of yours, that in your odious rôle of beggar you plead the cause of others rather than your own. The sum of the matter is this; as I have none of other people's money for others, so, if you beg humbly, I have some of my own for you. Ask without shame, and poverty shall in a very poor way come to the aid of poverty.

Farewell and pray write often to me.

London [Oct. 1511].

In the Deventer manuscript the above epistle has the date, *Londino*, with the year-date, *Anno* 1513, added in a later hand. The true date is approximately shown by that of Epistle 224, which appears to have been written from Cambridge after Epistle 221, and before the receipt of this.

In the beginning of October, before the receipt of Epistle 223, Erasmus made a hasty visit to London, from which he returned without having seen either Colet or Ammonius (Epistles 224, 225), though the latter was staying at More's house, where Erasmus appears to have had the use of a room. He gives no explanation to his correspondents of the object of this journey, as to which we may guess, that he had some occasion to meet the printer, Josse Bade, who appears to have been in London for a few days. See Epistle 225.

Erasmus was also desirous about this time to retain the services of an intelligent boy as a pupil-servant, and in the choice of a suitable person he was using the help of Linacre (Epistle 230), with whom it will be seen that he had an interview at More's house. Epistle 225. Another of his confidants in this matter was Roger Wentford, the master of St. Antony's School in London, where it is probable that John Smith, the youth who was ultimately chosen for the purpose, had partly been educated. See p. 34. There can be little doubt that this addition to Erasmus's household was connected with his change of residence at this time. His earliest letters from Cambridge are dated from Queen's College, where he expected to stay some days (Epistle 220), and the last letter that bears that date is Epistle 222. We may conjecture that, while he was there, he occupied a part of what was then the Master's lodging, who may probably have returned to Cambridge at the commencement of the term.* We know little of the particulars of Erasmus's later domestic arrangements at Cambridge. It may be, that at this time he moved into the house of the bookseller Garret or Gerard, of whom he speaks in a later letter as his ancient host. Epistle 441 ; C. 130 F.

* If I recollect right, a room near the Master's house, now occupied by an undergraduate, is shown as Erasmus's lodging.

EPISTLE 224. Farrago, p. 309; Ep. x. 9; C. 102 (121).

Erasmus to Colet.

I begin to catch some scent of the kind of men you were mentioning, about which matter we can talk when we meet. When I was last in London, I did not come to you, for fear of being troublesome, having to mount my horse directly after dinner. One-eyed Peter, whom I accidentally met, informed me that you had answered my last letter, but I have not received yours. If it were not for my fear of the plague, I would return to you by December, especially if Mountjoy returns, so that I might use his house, which I cannot do now for that Cerberus! Farewell, my one preceptor.

Cambridge, 5 Oct. 1511.*

EPISTLE 225. Farrago, p. 202; Ep. viii. 2; C. 110 (122).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I owe it to my evil genius that I was not able to meet you, when I was lately in London. On my first arrival, I had not the least suspicion that you were still at More's house, especially as Josse the bookseller† assured me that you were now living at St. Thomas's College. The following morning I knocked at the door of your room, but you were not within. After my return from church, I heard a noise of horses, and asked Linacre to look out, as I was writing. He told me that it was you going off; but by that time you

* Cantabrig. Tertio Non. Octob *Farrago.* M.D.XI. *added in Opus Epistolarum.*

† Josse Bade. See p. 26.

were already gone. I had a great deal to say to you; but I shall have the opportunity another time.

Pray let me know what is reported about Mountjoy's return; also whether the plague is as bad as they say; and finally whether there is any news of Italian or French affairs that can safely be trusted to a letter. Farewell.

Cambridge, 5 Oct. 1511.*

Encouraged by Colet's approval (Epistle 223), Erasmus submitted to the Bishop of Rochester a specimen of his proposed translation of an exposition of the prophet Isaiah attributed to Saint Basil, expressing however, in the letter which accompanied it, some doubt as to the authenticity of the work, the text of which he had borrowed from the library of Grocin. EPISTLE 226. *Basilius in Esaiam.* Basel. 1518; Ep. xxix. 90; C. viii. 483. The date of this letter, as printed by Froben in 1518, is *E Cantabrigia tua, Anno m.d.x*; but Epistles 221, 223 and 231 (p. 35) show that it belongs to the autumn of 1511. It was first printed, with the Translation, when the latter, having been completed, was published at Basel in 1518.

EPISTLE 227. Farrago, p. 202; Ep. viii. 3; C. 110 (123)

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I have nothing new to write, but am determined not to let any safe messenger go without charging him with a letter for you. I wrote a few days ago, and want to know, how you are in health, and whether my Mountjoy has returned; also how things go on in Italy, and what the unconquered Julius is doing. Towards winter, please Heaven, I shall move back to London, if the frost abates the plague, which I hear is becoming more frequent there. Indeed it is not further off here.

* Cantabrigiæ. tertio nonas Octobres. *Farrago.* M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

Up to this time I have lectured on the Grammar of Chrysoloras, but only to a few pupils. Perhaps with a larger audience we shall begin that of Theodorus.† Perhaps too we shall undertake a theological lecture, for that is now talked of. The pay is not enough to be an object to me, but in the meantime we are doing our best to be of use to Study, and we also, to use an Ovidian phrase, beguile some months. Farewell, my Andrew, dearest to me of all mortals. Please write often to me.

Cambridge, 16 Oct. 1511.‡

The following letter included a poem of twenty-nine Iambic lines, in praise of Ammonius.

EPISTLE 228. Farrago, p. 219; Ep. viii. 22; C. 110 (124).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I send back your cask, which I have kept empty by me all the longer that I might enjoy even the smell of the Greek wine. In return for the best of wine, you will receive herewith the worst of verses, a plain instance of the Homeric 'brass for gold.' Iambics, you see, in my hands are learning to be encomiastic.

* * * * *

Please give the letters, which I have inclosed with yours, to the bishops to whom they are addressed, when you go to Court, or have a safe messenger. Farewell.

Bullock sends his greeting to you, a sincere friend like yourself I am still expecting a letter from you, as I have

† The Greek Grammar of Theodorus Gaza was afterwards translated by Erasmus into Latin, and printed by Froben and Thiery Martens in 1516 and later years.

‡ Cantabrigiæ. postridie Idus Octob. *Farrago.* M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epist.*

as yet only received one. If any opportunity occurs with those bishops of yours, pray be what you have always been to your Erasmus.

If your Poems are for sale in London, please send me one copy of them.

[October] 1511.†

EPISTLE 229. Farrago, p. 220; Ep. viii. 23; C. 111 (125).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

Your letters, Erasmus, have surpassed my expectation without satisfying my appetite. You have written to me more often than I thought you would, but much less frequently than I wished. I have not been able to be equally attentive to you, partly on account of the king's affairs (see what a grand excuse I have to offer), and of some most intricate business of friends; and partly by the fault of those, to whom I entrusted another letter for you, which I understand was never delivered, though I had paid something for the carriage. I have received your three letters, two full of sugar and the third of nectar.‡ * * *

I hope to deliver your letters into the hands of the Bishops of Winchester and Durham in a few days; and if by any speech of mine I can assist in recommending you to them, I will surpass Tully himself. So good a cause might make an infant eloquent.

Of Italian news we have the following. The Spaniards are almost at open war with the French; and the English, as it is guessed, will not remain mere spectators. Julius the Great has betaken himself to the Chapel at Loreto, to give thanks to our Lady for his recovery. The Venetians have,

† No date in Farrago. M.D.XI. *Opus Epistolarum.*

‡ In the lines omitted Ammonius refers to the encomiastic verses sent with Epistle 228. See Epistle 236, p. 47.

it is reported, destroyed by an ambush above five hundred men at arms of the French. The Emperor is so cold, as not to dare to come out of his stoves. The Florentines and Pisans are pursued with the direst censures for furnishing a place of meeting to those schismatic cardinals. The Cardinal of Reggio is dead.

Here we have not yet made peace with the plague. I have moved at last into St. Thomas's College, where I am no more housed according to my ideas than I was with More. I do not see τῆς ἁρπυίας τὸ ἄσκυλον ῥόμφον,† but there are many other things that offend me, so that I really do not know how I can still go on living in England. In the first place they say it would not be right for me to lodge with any of our merchants, as I should like to do; then the dirt of these people, of which I have had experience enough, is altogether hateful to me; while to hire a house and live as I should wish, is beyond my means. * * *

To-morrow I am going to Court; and will not fail to look after your interests there. I shall give directions, that when the Cambridge carriers come back, they shall take another cask of wine to you together with this letter. Return Bullock's greetings for me a thousand times. Farewell again, and love me, as you do.

London, 27 Oct. 1511.‡

The first clause of above Epistle indicates the time when Ammonius began to be employed in the king's service. He was soon after fully installed as Latin secretary. A little later, on the 3rd of February, 1512, he was appointed Canon of St. Stephen's (Fœdera, xiii. 323), and so obtained, within the Palace precincts, that which he appears from his last letter to have much desired, a residence of his own.

† The Greek is given as it is printed. I cannot guess to what deficiency in the English houses of 1511, the more fastidious Italian alludes.

‡ Londini. vi. Calend. Novemb. *Farrago.* Anno M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.* This letter was not received by Erasmus until 24 November. See p. 47.

Among the friends, with whom Erasmus had associated in London, was Roger Wentford, schoolmaster at St. Antony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street, whose acquaintance he had made during his earlier visit to England in 1505-6. See Epistle 196, vol. i. p. 413. The following letter, written from Cambridge to this friend, may be attributed to the latter part of October, 1511. The rhetorical treatise *De Copia verborum et rerum* had been commenced many years before. See vol. i. pp. 195, 270, 287. Erasmus was now proposing to revise and print this work, of which the materials appear to have been communicated to Wentford during the author's late residence in London. Of the book on Letter-writing, which had not yet been published by the Press, we have also frequently heard. See vol. i. pp. 165, 195, 305.

EPISTLE 230. Farrago, p. 234; Ep viii. 45; C. 141 (166).

Erasmus to Roger Wentford.

You are opposed to the publication of the *Copia*, if it were not for the credit I may obtain from it; and in this I recognize a double proof of your regard. On the one hand, with a blind partiality for your Erasmus, you set so much store by his poor productions, that you grudge the communication of so choice a treasure to the profane crowd, while on the other hand you are so zealous for my good name, that one friendly motive overcomes the other, as a nail is driven on by a nail. For my own part, I think it better for my reputation if no transcript at all is made, unless it could be finished with extreme labour, which I hate worse than dog or snake, especially as I see no profit comes of it, except loss of sight, premature old age, starvation, and a morsel of glory accompanied with a great amount of jealousy.

And whereas you wish to know of my condition, I am quite rich in golden promises; and meantime I am starving bravely. You deplore my empty purse, and may do so

more, when you know that I brought it from London* stuffed with more than seventy-two nobles, of which not ever so little is left. You may guess from this, how money slips away here, where every thing is done at my own cost, and I have to guard against two most voracious Charybdes. In your kind and I am sure sincere offer of your own money, I welcome with pleasure and affection that Rogerian spirit, which I have long known both by observation and experience. Would that Fortune had added corresponding means! She will do it some day, if she is not altogether set against good intellects.

I do not see how I can live with any one there except Grocin, and certainly there is nobody with whom I am more glad to be, but I am ashamed of the cost, especially as there is no return that I can make, and he is so kind that he will not allow anything to be paid. Indeed I was not very desirous of leaving London, but this scruple especially influenced my mind. Meanwhile, not to be doing nothing, I am completing my work on Letter-writing, and intend also to correct the *Copia*, cursing meanwhile my barren studies.

Farewell, my Roger, dearest of all mortals. You will give my best wishes to Dr. Grocin, our common patron and teacher.

I have arranged with Mr. William N. about the boy, though Linacre had made the same arrangement already.

[Cambridge, October, 1511.]†

The above Epistle, which is dated in *Opus Epistolarum* and in the later printed copies 1514, was evidently written in 1511 after some time spent at Cambridge, but apparently before Erasmus was actually at work upon the completion of the *Copia* (see Epistles 231, 233, 248), or had begun his editorial labours on Jerome or the New Testament. The last clause is in *Farrago*, but not in the later collections. It refers, no doubt, to John Smith, Erasmus's pupil-servant (see p. 26),

* *istuc*, read *istinc*. † No date in *Farrago*. 1514 *Opus Epistolarum*.

who appears to have been engaged through the intervention of a person, whose Christian name only is given (cum D. Gulielmo N.), and who may probably be the same as G. S.* the schoolmaster near Cambridge, to whom Erasmus appealed, when the boy's father proposed to remove him from his place. See Epistles 266, 268, 269. We may conjecture that John had passed his younger school-years under G. S. and had proceeded thence to the more advanced school of St. Antony in London.

When the following Epistle was written Erasmus was already revising his *Copia*, but had not yet promised to dedicate it to Colet. See Epistle 251. It may however be assumed, that the latter had already shown an interest in the work; and in looking over the materials collected many years before (see vol. i. p. 195, 279), the title which he had chosen appears to have struck the author as furnishing an excellent text for a lamentation upon his material resources, which, as compared with his scale of expenditure, were anything but copious.

Epistle 231. Farrago, p. 314; Ep. x. 18; C. 131 (150).

Erasmus to Colet.

I am now entirely occupied with my *Copia*, so that it may be put as a sort of riddle,—how can one be *in media Copia*, in the midst of abundance, and at the same time living in the greatest want? I only wish I could bring them both to an end together; for the *Copia* will soon be finished, if the Muses forward my studies better than Fortune has hitherto advanced my estate. This occupation has been in fact the reason why I have not answered your letter at greater length.

I am not much disposed to wage war with the Scotists,†

* The letter N. is not necessarily an initial; in Epistle 241, for example, it stands for Allen.

† See Epistle 221, 223, pp. 22, 25.

who are an invincible race of men, and most successful in pleasing themselves. I should be wasting my labour and my oil ; and stirring up a hornet's nest besides.

I have almost given up the idea of translating the Basil, not only because there are some doubts whether the work is genuine, but also because the Bishop of Rochester, to whom I have sent a taste of my translation, testifying by letter* that I did so with the intention that Basil should come into the hands of Latin readers under his auspices and from his University, did not show any appetite for it, and suspects, as I have learned from a friend, that I am not translating from the Greek, but revising a version already made. What will not people imagine ?

You laugh about Diogenes, and I am glad to afford you amusement. But seriously, if Fortune goes on as she is doing, I shall have to play that part, not to think myself a king of kings, but absolutely to hold life itself in contempt ; for at my age and with my health, how else could I play Diogenes ? And when one does not care for his life, what is left that he does not despise ?

I wrote about Croke,† not because I felt sure that you had other people's money at your disposal, knowing as I do that you had rejected such payments ; but I thought that if there was any, you would more willingly bestow it on an Englishman, and moreover that a favour of this sort is better conferred on a young person, provided he be of promise. And Croke has been disappointed by some who promised him support. In your offer to me of your own money I recognize your old spirit, and am as thankful as I can be. But I am rather hurt by that expression, although used in jest, 'if you beg humbly.' If by 'humbly' you mean servilely and abjectly, then, my Colet, you differ widely from Seneca, who thinks nothing costs so dear as what is bought with prayers,

* Epistle 226, see p. 28.

† See pp. 22, 25.

and that he does not quite fulfil the duty of a friend, who waits for that humble word, I ask. When Socrates was talking with friends, he said, I should have bought a cloak to-day, if I had had money enough. On which Seneca observes, that he gave too late, who gave after hearing this. There is a story of a man who, when his friend was both needy and sick but would not for shame let either be known, put a sum of money under his pillow, as he slept. When I read this as a boy, I was much impressed by the modesty of the one, and delighted with the sincere friendship of the other. But I beseech you, can any one be more abject and shameless than I, who have now for a long time been begging publicly in England. I have received so much from the Archbishop, that it would be unconscionable for me to take anything more from him, even if he offered it. I have asked N. with sufficient assurance, but he has repulsed me with more assurance still.* Our friend Linacre has already thought me wanting in delicacy; for knowing as he did that I left London with hardly six angels in my pocket, and being well aware of my state of health, with the winter coming on, he is still constantly advising me to spare the Archbishop, to spare Mountjoy, and rather to narrow my expenses, and accustom myself to bear poverty with fortitude. A friendly counsel indeed! But it is for this very reason that I most resent my ill fortune, because it does not permit me to be delicate.

* It might be suspected, that possibly Mountjoy was here intended, but he had been all the autumn at Hammes, and did not return to London till about the 5th of November, some days after this letter was written. See p. 40. It appears however, from the next sentence, that Linacre thought Erasmus had already been too importunate to Mountjoy, who for an English peer was not a wealthy man. The time when Erasmus left London with a nearly empty purse, was in the beginning of October, when he had an interview with Linacre, and received from him the advice to draw in his expenses. When he left London in August, his purse was better filled, in some measure, no doubt, by Mountjoy's generosity.

When my strength could bear it, I was glad to keep my poverty to myself; I must not do so now, unless I would disregard my life; though I am not so hardened as to ask everything from everybody. I do not ask others for fear of asking in vain; and with what face am I to ask of you, especially as you do not yourself abound beyond measure in this sort of riches? Nevertheless, if shamelessness finds favour with you, I will end my letter with as impudent a sentence as I can. I am not brazen-faced enough to ask of you under any pretext, but I am not so proud as to reject a present, freely offered by such a friend, especially in my present circumstances. Farewell. I have forgotten the brevity which I intended.

A thing comes into my head, which I know will amuse you. When, being with some Masters, I introduced the subject of your under-teacher, one of them, a person of some reputation, smiled and said, Who would submit to pass his life in that school among boys, who could live in any fashion whatever elsewhere? I answered softly, that I thought it a highly honourable office to bring up youth in virtue and learning; that Christ had not despised that age; upon which kindness was best bestowed, and from which the richest harvest might be expected, as indeed it was the seed-plot and planting-ground of the common-wealth. I added that many really pious persons would be of opinion, that there was no duty by which he could serve God better than by drawing children to Christ. He made a face, and said sneeringly, If any one is quite set on serving Christ, he had better go into a convent. I replied, that Paul places true religion in offices of charity, and that charity consists in doing all the good we can to our neighbours. He rejected this as an ignorant notion. "Behold," said he, "we have left all,"—in that lies perfection. Nay, said I, he has not left all, who, when he might benefit many by his labour, declines a duty which is thought too lowly. And with that, for fear of a quarrel, I

took leave of him. I have given you our dialogue, and you will see the Scotistic wisdom. Again farewell.

Cambridge, the morrow of St. Simon and St. Jude [29 Oct. 1511].*

EPISTLE 232. Farrago, p. 204 ; Ep. viii. 7 ; C. 112 (126).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I did sent back your cask at last,—with those ill-starred verses.† The carrier declares that he delivered it to More, because you were away at the time.

I am going to move back to London by the first of January, so that we may feel the cold less by keeping each other warm ; for I had rather pass the summer than the winter here. And lastly it is well not to be away too long from my Jupiter ; though I do not dislike this place, where I see there is something to be earned, if one can play the part of man of all work.

I am very anxious to know, in what spirit Winchester and Durham received my letters. Also, if there is any other news. You will do me a favour if you will get the inclosed letter forwarded to Italy. The condition of things there now is quite that 'unspeakable shadow' of Homer. Jupiter appears to have listened to the prayers of the man, whose book I put into your hands, who calls on the springs and rivers, lakes and pools to weep for the calamities of Italy. Ἡμᾶς λύκος εἶδε πρότερος (a wolf has had the first look at us).‡ I am so hoarse that I am obliged to speak by signs. Farewell, and write frequently to us.

Cambridge, 2 Nov. 1511.§

* Cantabrigiæ. postridie Simonis et Iudæ. *Farrago.* M.D.XIII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

† See Epistle 228, p. 29.

‡ Lupi illum priores viderunt,—said of one, who for any reason had lost his voice. Erasmi *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. vii. Prov. 86 ; C. ii. 296.

§ Cantabrig. iiii. Nonas Novemb. *Farrago.* M.D.XI. *Opus Epistolarum.*

EPISTLE 233. Farrago, p. 207 ; Ep. viii. 8 ; C. 112 (127).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

Either my servant is so unlucky, that whatever he has to do turns out ill, or else the common sort of people at Cambridge surpass all these 'inhospitable Britons' in barbarity. They are so ignorant of all obligations, so utterly wanting in all civility, that I should like to see some of them making that long letter of themselves.* I have tried to answer your epistles as soon as I have received them, so that, if I could not please by my style, I might do so at any rate by my promptitude ; and I have given for the carriage whatever small sum the carters asked. Finally I sent with my letter another cask of Greek wine. I find however that only one letter has been forwarded to you, and with the intended civility the pains I had taken in writing have also been lost. What monsters they are ! If the wine has been drunk up, do try at least to recover the cask. But I must have done with this ill-humour, which makes me hot all over.

I delivered your letters into the hands of my lords of Winchester and Durham. Both received them with a look of pleasure, both praised your rare endowments. Winchester seems to accuse you of playing the part of a stranger with him and never coming to see him. I answered what came first to my tongue,—that it was a sort of bashfulness that made you do that, but that I knew you were much devoted to him, and some other observations suitable to the moment. This was before they read your letters. Afterwards they were so occupied with public business, that I thought it best not to interrupt them with any further

* I presume the allusion is to the figure of a man on a gibbet.

question about you; but when the occasion arises, I shall not let it pass. Your Mæcenas,† I hear (for I have not yet seen him), has been three days in town.

Jupiter is out of humour with us; it rains day and night with scarcely any cessation. The plague has almost set a limit to its cruelty, but famine, unless the government find some remedy, is likely to follow, a calamity no milder than plague. That the price of faggots is gone up I do not wonder; a number of heretics furnish a holocaust every day, and the crop is still growing up. The brother of my servant Thomas, more a stick than a man, is founding, if you please, a sect of his own, and has his disciples!

To turn to Italian affairs,—a league has been publicly made at Rome between the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians.‡ * * * The Council of Pisa does not march well together. They say that the Cardinal of Santa Croce, the originator of the schism, has obtained the Pope's pardon through the King of Arragon, and has gone off in haste to Campania.

I omitted to say that liberty is reserved to any Christian prince to join the league within forty days; and after that they may be admitted by the consent of the Pope. Our people have not decided what they will do, owing, it is supposed, to the scarcity of oarsmen.§ The Emperor is only a spectator of the affair. There is a rumour that the Florentines are preparing to abandon the French. This is all the news received from Italy up to this time.

If you were here, I could cure your hoarseness at once by a single draught. I am sorry that our hope of your return is deferred till the first of January, but pleased to know that your campaign there has not turned out so badly.

† No doubt, Lord Mountjoy. See p. 45.

‡ 4 October 1511, Fœdera, xiii. 305.

§ *Magno remigum compendio.* I presume the writer refers to the action of his countrymen of Lucca.

Our longing for you will be relieved by the greatness of your gain. Your other letters shall be forwarded without fail to Italy to-morrow, for they have come in the nick of time, just before the departure of the messenger. Farewell, my Erasmus. Greet Bullock heartily in my name.

London, 8 November, 1511,*

EPISTLE 234. Farrago, p. 203 ; Ep. viii. 9 ; C. 119 (138).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

On St. Martin's eve (10 Nov.) I received your letter (if you want to know which, the angry one)† and at the same time a puncheon half-full of Greek wine. The man who brought it demanded two groats, and I gave him six pence.‡ I afterwards found, when I had looked more carefully at your letters, that the cask was not sent with that last letter, which you wrote on the 8th of November, but with your former letter ; indeed this was indicated also by the colour of the wine ! I was surprised, when you first sent, that you let the cask go without sealing it, in charge of those against whom nothing is sealed. It is plain, my Andrew, that we have to do with a kind of men, who with the utmost clownishness unite the utmost malice. Neither is there any reason for your congratulating me on account of my remaining here. In fact it is only shame that checks my grumbling ; but of this more in your ear,—when we meet.

You tell me about the carrier ! What would you say, if you had seen my cases everywhere broken, and heard his romance about the horse ? And that bold scoundrel has

* Londini. Sexto idus Nouembr. *Farrago.* M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

† Epistle 233, from which some of the impatient sentences have been omitted in the translation.

‡ Duas drachmas, denarios sex.

never put in his appearance! What folly it is to expect any office of humanity from such monsters! But I cannot help laughing when I see that even Andrew, born for friendship and gentleness and the Graces, could boil over with indignation, while I was myself conning the part of Mitio, and beginning to accept the saying of Virgil,

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.*

But I think there is no misfortune I do not deserve, when I remember what an Italy, what a smiling Rome I abandoned; οἴμοι τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸ παρὸν εὖ τίθεσθαι. Alas for the change, but we must make the best of what is before us.

Your Italian news is anything but agreeable to me, not from love of the French, but from hatred of war. For when we see every day, that the consequences of the smallest raid last for many years, what may we expect, if so momentous a war is once set on foot! And yet I know not whom to blame, unless it be that circumcised τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἰατρῷ (chief priest's physician), who is either no artist, or else both Anticyras are used up. But I trust the fates themselves will find a way.†

As for those heretics of yours, I pity them the less, if they raise the price of fuel, now that winter is coming on. I am not so anxious about hunger, if we may only live.

Thank you for delivering my letters to Winchester and Durham, and for your friendly advocacy; also for the unexpected present of wine; and for so carefully forwarding my letters to Italy. But why should I reckon up a few of your claims, when there is nothing in which you do not play the part of Ammonius, that is of the most loyal of friends.

* Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii. 354.

† Erasmus regrets that Pope Julius's Hebrew physician had not during his illness, given him a dose of hellebore to cure his madness for war. The writer shews great confidence in a few Greek words to conceal his meaning from a prying eye.

Before I return to you, you must find me some warm hive, where I may stow myself for the winter; I should like it not far from Paul's. For I am determined to shun Mountjoy's house as long as it is beset by that Cerberus;* and indeed I do not see any room there fit for winter, unless I should turn my lord out of his own chamber. Perhaps there is something at the Austin Friars. Francis of Padua invites me by letter to his house, and promises an Italian mode of life; on this matter let me have any advice you can give. I congratulate lord Mountjoy on his safe return home. Pray take care he has my letter. I wrote a letter to the Bishop of Rochester by the same messenger that brought you my last. If you have an opportunity, find out whether it has been delivered. With the other two bishops I beseech you to do as you have begun; I shall await your letter before moving hence. Bullock returns your greeting, and was wonderfully pleased to be remembered by you. If you meet More, enquire whether he has delivered my letter to the Archbishop, and whether he has sent any to me, either of his own or from any one else. Farewell, incomparable friend.

Cambridge, 11 November [1511].†

It appears by Epistle 238, p. 50, that Epistle 235 was conveyed by a clergyman who was going to Cambridge. The John More, mentioned in the first line of it, was Thomas More's younger brother, who appears to have acted as his secretary. See Epistle 237, p. 50. It has been assumed that he died in infancy; see Notes and Queries, 4th Series, vol. ii. p. 366. Bridgett's Life of More, p. 3. These epistles, exchanged by two foreign scholars of different countries, whose native homes were probably at that time the most refined in Europe, have some interest for the English reader, as showing what the houses of our countrymen then were. Erasmus in a later epistle

* The Cerberus in charge of Mountjoy's house is again mentioned, p. 51.

† Cātabrigiæ, III. idus Nouēb. *Farrago.* M.D.XII. *Opus Epistolarum.*

addressed to Wolsey's physician (Ep. xxii. 12, C. 1825 (432), describes more minutely the defects of ordinary English houses; and the accounts published in the abstracts of State papers show with how little comfort the highest personages were compelled to be content in royal palaces. A pallet for my lord marquis's bed and rushes for my lord's chamber are supplemented with an ounce of cloves to make perfume to overcome the evil odours. We may imagine how my lord's numerous gentlemen and servants were lodged. Brewer, *Abstracts*, vol. iv. pp. 794, 795.

EPISTLE 235. Farrago, p. 221 ; Ep. viii. 25 ; C. 113 (128).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

Your carriers had already gone, when John More brought me your letter, but without any for Mountjoy ; I must therefore wait for the return of those scoundrels, or for some accident that may place a messenger at my disposal, by whom I may send this. I understand you have at last received a cask, which had been tampered with, and was only half full ; and that not for nothing. For I think those dregs that the assassins had left were bought dearly for six pence. I know besides, how that bald fellow is used to cheat. But you are right in your warning, that no office of humanity is to be got out of these monsters. If Socrates had ever been brought into conflict with beasts of this kind, he could not have kept either his temper or his countenance unchanged.

I did not send the wine again to you because you had praised it, but because the transaction had been a profitable one. I had received gold in return for brass, χρύσεα χαλκείων, and therefore I tried again whether you had any other verses you would like to barter in the same way. Not that I was delighted with their falsehoods, but with their elegance and sweetness, and with that friendly delusion which makes you think me other than I am.

I heard from Linacre that your chief priest* is resolved to ive you some pecuniary assistance, and is looking out for a afe foundation on which to place you. If it is so, it will essen your grumblings; but if there are any left, you will our them into a friendly bosom, and have them returned ith interest, for I consider that you are happy compared ith me. You have obtained what you sought, the height f erudition and the most illustrious name wherever Roman loquence is heard, in fine, immortality. I have run after ortune to the extremity of Britain, and have not been able o overtake her. In some extraordinary way, as if merely in alousy of me, she has raised to the highest dignity two en, who used to be devoted to me, but were generally ought likely to remain poor and unhonoured, and has ade one of them Vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, nd the other quite lately High Penitentiary. Both now ame my folly in leaving them and Rome, the seat of ortune, for the sake of Britain; both despise me, as I once d them, and they have some reason to do so. You, which-ver way you turn, send your fame far before you, and nnot fail to find great patrons everywhere. For me, unless can get together some provision for a bad season among ose whom I have so long endeavoured to make my friends, know not where to fly, when I grow old in these Cimmerian gions of darkness; for before my years grey hair, which ey call the colour-bearers of death, are appearing in troops on my head. But my dirge is long; I reserve what is ft, to be paid with interest.

I have not yet waited on lord Mountjoy; so it has ppened owing to my putting it off from day to day. The shop of Durham promises you his help and interest. Winchester spoke in a less public but more friendly way: thought you had a benefice. I answered that you had

* tuum ἀρχιερέα, Archbishop Warham.

been presented with the hope of a benefice, but not presented to a benefice as yet. He smiled and asked if you could live on that hope. I smiled in turn, and said, Nevertheless it cost Erasmus both gold and time to purchase that hope. He then bade me speak of the matter to him on some more convenient occasion. This has not in my judgment yet arisen ; but I was extremely glad to hear Winchester speak so lovingly of you. For the rest, I will take care that you shall not want my good word.

As for the hive you require, I have nothing certain to write. At Austin Friars there is no one with whom you could live : I do not know whether you would wish the blind poet asked.* I hear there are some empty chambers there, which might be hired, but you would need furniture. In this convent where I am, they say they are all filled up ; and besides, the table is below mediocrity. About St. Paul's there is, as you know, a college of some learned men, who are said to fare well ; I reckon it living in a sewer. It might do no harm to try Francis,† but he seems to me poorer than Irus.‡ In fact, I do not yet know what to say in this matter. If anything occurs to me, you shall hear. Why should I ask you about the kindness of Griphus, especially now that John Baptist Boncanti is away. Write back what you wish done ; if you return meantime, some chamber shall be found.

I have not yet seen More, and thought I need not go on purpose to ask him whether he has delivered the letter, which he could scarcely fail to deliver, since he either speaks to the Archbishop or sees him every day.§

I have had no news, nor in fact any letter, from Italy.

* Bernard Andreas, the blind poet, nicknamed by Erasmus, Griphus. See pp. 53, 54, 55, 56.

† Francis of Padua. See p. 43.

‡ Irus, the beggar of Ithaca. See Homer, *Odyssey*, xviii. 6.

§ See the question in p. 43. Archbishop Warham was still Chancellor.

nce our friend Bullock values so much my remembrance
him, give him many greetings in my name. The greatest
ndness you can do me, is to take every care of your
ealth.

London 18 November [1511].*

In the following epistle, beside the Greek words inserted in the
anslation, there are several other words and phrases which are
itten in Greek merely for the purpose of eluding curiosity. These,
the translation of this letter, are in *italics*. The remarks on the
reatened war stirred up by the Pope are characteristically sagacious.
nd Erasmus, writing to a foreigner, stigmatizes with remarkable
eedom the want of refinement prevailing in England. We see, by
e first clause of the letter, that he had undertaken a lecture on some
ork of St. Jerome. This lecture appears to have occupied him for a
onth ending in the second week of December. See Epistle 239, p. 53.

EPISTLE 236. Farrago, p. 235; Ep. viii. 24; C. 115 (130).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I received at last on the 24th of November your letter
ritten the 27th of October. It is, to put my praise in the
ortest terms, worthy of you,—that is to say, equally sincere
nd learned. If I reply briefly, you must impute it to St.
erome, whom I have undertaken to interpret, a task, much
ore difficult than might be supposed, though it is not so
uch the labour that affects me, as the anxiety.

In praising my trifling verses, I see you are *rhetorizing, nd making an elephant out of a fly*. I call them far from egant, but maintain that they are true, thus doubly differing om you. I took the subject of that poem from no other odel than yourself. It is the portrait of Ammonius painted the best colours, for they are those of life, but not by the st of artists or with the most skilful brush.

* Londini, xiiii calendas Decembres. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epistolarum.*

But what, I beseech you, is that discovery, which you se to have made as something extraordinary,—that Andrew loved by Erasmus? If I could fail to love a man of such character, and to whom I am so much obliged, then indeed should be Erasmus οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρασθαι, *not from loving, against love*, that is ἀνεραστότατος, one whom the Tau scythians would hail as a barbarian, and wild creatu themselves as a wild animal.

What say you,—is the *high priest** gone to our Lady Loretto? *What piety indeed!* As to the war which is beg to be waged, see whether the Greek proverb will not be so day applicable, *the fate of the moth*. For if anything shou happen to the Roman Church, to whom could you m justly ascribe it than to the too energetic *Julius*?† Bu pray you, suppose the French driven out of Italy, just c sider whether you would prefer to have the Spaniards masters? or the Venetians, whose own subjects can tolerate them? For they will never put up with *the pri* for princes; neither again will it be possible to form a un among themselves by reason of the fatal dissensions hostile factions. I am afraid Italy will only change masters, and when she cannot bear the French, will forced to bear some others twice as bad. But let *the Fa* see to this; you and I *are fighting the battle out of reach shot.*

I regret that your migration has not been so successful you hoped; and yet I have some pleasure in meeting wit *fellow voter*.‡ For while these people§ are nothing

* ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, Pope Julius. The other words in italics are also Gree the original.

† Τῷ Ἰουλίῳ nimum forti. When we look at the state of the Roman Ch at this time and its condition thirty years later, there seems something propl in the anticipation of Erasmus.

‡ ὁμόψηφον.

§ These people must, I fear, be the English Court and University.

Cyprian bulls and dung-eaters,—they think they are the only persons *that feed on ambrosia and Jupiter's brain!*

I am delighted *that you are Lucianizing*. When I return to London, which will be, please Heaven, before the Ides of December (Dec. 13), *we shall be deep in Greek together*. Meanwhile I will wait for your letter, in which I pray you to inform me, whether there is any news of my Mountjoy. For I have written to him twice ; but I know his way. He never answers, *not so much as a grunt!* Then again what hope do those *bishops* of yours hold out? Has the plague cooled down? And into what nest do you think I had better migrate ? I have now received three letters from you. I had written both to Colet and to one-eyed Peter, but I suspect the letters have been stopped. I sent More a letter for the Bishop of Rochester, but I do not know whether he has delivered it.

I have been prevented by sickness from answering your poem. When my energy has returned, I will not be altogether silent. Farewell, Andrew, my more than Pyladean friend.

Cambridge, 26 Nov. 1511.*

Epistle 237 was written the day after the last ; see the postscript of Epistle 239. It appears to have been sent to London in charge of Garrett, the Cambridge bookseller, who was taking up the manuscript mentioned in it, and also some other letters. See p. 53.

EPISTLE 237. Farrago, p. 205 ; Ep. viii. 6 ; C. 120 (139).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

Only look at my startling impudence ! I send you the *Icaromenippus*, for you either to copy, if you can do so

* Cantabrig. Sexto Calen. Decembr. *Farrago.* Anno M.D.XI. *Opus Epistolarum.*

without trouble or inconvenience; or else to arrange with More for giving it to his brother to transcribe.* I am preparing some baits for New Year's Day, though, if I am not mistaken, it will be all in vain. And here,—what a University! No one is to be found at any price, who can write even tolerably. But anything, my Andrew, rather than that you should be put to any annoyance on my account. I beg you to have the inclosed letters delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed. Do let me find you in the best of health, when I come.

Cambridge, 27 Nov. 1511.†

In the following letter, the writer refers to Epistle 235, dated ten days before, as more lately despatched. The Cerberus in charge of Mountjoy's house is mentioned in Epistle 234, p. 43.

EPISTLE 238. *Farrago*, p. 208; *Ep.* viii. 10; C. 120 (140)

Ammonius to Erasmus.

For one reason or another I have twice omitted to write to you by those scoundrels of yours; but four or five days ago I gave a letter for you to a priest, which I finished in haste, because he said he was himself hastening his departure. I mentioned, that the bishop of Winchester showed a very friendly disposition towards you, though he is so occupied by this whirl of business that he can scarcely find time for anything else. Nevertheless, if you wish me to press him I will do so; but consider whether you had not better be here yourself; in my opinion you might advance matters much. There is no reason for alarm as to your health; everything is healthy; the very name of plague is never

* As to More's brother, see pp. 43, 62.

† Cantabrig. Quinto Calen. Decembr. *Farrago.* M.D.XII. *Opus Epistolarum*

heard. Besides, if you are afraid of that Cerberus of Mountjoy's, we shall soon, if we go together, meet with some chamber, which you will not altogether dislike ; for if I were to seek by myself, I should not easily find anything good enough for Erasmus.

We have had a letter from Italy, by which we understand that the French party still prevails, while the Spanish appear in small numbers, and those half-starved and barefoot ; that the Council of Pisa is going on ; that the Cardinals of Santa Croce, Cosenza, Bayeux and Narbonne have been degraded in a general Conclave, and deprived of all their preferments ; and finally that the Bolognese are fairly punished for their treason by famine, plague, slaughter and rapine. That is all I hear from Italy. Farewell, my Erasmus. Give my greetings to our friend Bullock.

London, 28 Nov. [1511]*

Epistle 239 is an answer to Epistles 235 and 238. Ammonius had enquired whether Erasmus, in seeking a London residence, would care to ask the blind poet, Bernard Andreas, about a lodging in Austin Friars, which had been formerly hired of him. It appears by the following letter, that Erasmus had an outstanding account with Bernard, which he had asked lord Mountjoy to settle for him. See pp. 53, 55.

EPISTLE 239. Farrago, p. 205 ; Ep. viii. 11 ; C. 112 (141).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

Your letters, my Andrew, make me long to fly to you, that I may enjoy more closely so charming a friend. At the same time they make it possible for me to hold on here, because they so frequently refresh me with honeyed talk, that I am not so conscious of my absence from London.

* Londini. Quarto Calen. Decembr. *Farrago.* M.D.XII. *Opus Epistolarum.*

But what do I find here? You compare my fortune with your own, an anemone with a rose. In what respect, I pray you, are you not miles ahead of Erasmus? My reputation, if I have any, can be credited only with this, that, like a torch carried before me, it hinders my misery from being concealed. It is more distressing to be ashamed of one's condition than merely to regret it. But I do not wish to irritate this sore. We will suppose my fortune as good as I deserve, for so I am pleased to interpret it. Of yours, if one weighs your accomplishments, you have good right to complain. If their measure is taken, who would not award you the papacy itself? But you know, my Andrew, the blind tricks of Fortune too well, to be tormented by those whom her recklessness has carried to the top. And if you have made up your mind to rise, you will have to throw away some of that quality which commends you most to all good men, I mean your modesty. Even as you now are, if you should gain nothing more, when I think of your country, your figure, your age, your genius, your character and the favour of all the best men, I reckon you most happy; and unless I am altogether mistaken in my augury, the day is not distant, that will match your noble endowments with a noble fortune. As to lamenting your departure from Rome, what is the use of counting the waves that are passed; *δεῖ τὸ παρὸν εὖ τίθεσθαι*, you must arrange the present for the best. The reason why your grey hairs so distress you, I think I can pretty well divine. You are afraid of the banter of the lasses, a bitter dose indeed, and really *τῆς κραδίης δηκτήριον*.

I have reason to love both Winchester and you,—you for taking up my case in so friendly a way, and him for regarding it so favourably; but beware of pressing him in any way.

For a chamber, I only want some nest well sheltered from draughts, with a fire-place that will burn well; we will arrange our living as usual. If you have the opportunity,—

I do not wish you to say a word about it,—but I shall be glad to know if you can smell out, whether my Mæcenas has paid Bernard those twenty nobles.* It is this matter that makes me a little shrink from London, as I like nothing less than to be dunned. Nevertheless we may treat with him about the lodging, if you chance to come upon him.

I sent the cask three days ago with a very short note. I have received your two letters, to which I reply by this one. If I were not so worried by Jerome, I would treat you, not only with verses, but with regular volumes; but within ten days I shall have completed the month.† Bullock has written to you. If you happen to see Colet, and he says anything about me, offer him your help, if he wants to write anything to me. Tell Sixtinus, if you meet him, that his letter was very welcome to me. I have still seven or eight days to grind in this mill; after that, we shall amuse ourselves together at leisure. Farewell, incomparable friend.

Cambridge, 2 December [1511].‡

I wrote a second letter, which I suppose has been delivered to you by a bookseller named Garrett.

EPISTLE 240. Farrago, p. 209; Ep. viii. 12; C. 116 (132).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

Is it thus, Erasmus, that you make sport of your Ammonius? You ask in what respect I am not many miles ahead of Erasmus, when I know well that my place is a hundred parasangs below him. If our conditions could be reversed, I might soon make you deny what you now say, for I would

* See pp. 46, 51, 55.

† See p. 47.

‡ Cantabrigiæ. Quarto nonas Decembr. *Farrago.* M.D.XII. *add. Opus Epist.*

challenge you at once to change places with me. You think me worthy of the highest honours of the Church. Is this a sign of that love which I covet, or is it an Erasmic jest? But what a prophet you are, when you divine my reason for lamenting my grey hairs! As if those young women looked at one's hair, and not much more at one's purse! A gold piece shining between my finger and thumb can make me handsomer than Nireus himself. I grieve, not for that, but because I see myself grown old without use. Again you advise well, δεῖ τὸ παρὸν εὖ τίθεσθαι: We must make the best of what we have. But I should like you to show me the way, without absolutely playing the philosopher.

I reminded the bishop of Winchester of you again; but the occasion was not fortunate. When you are here, we will find some excellent opportunity. As to the chamber, I understand pretty nearly what you want; but you do not answer whether you would like to lodge with Griphus.* I shall meet Sixtinus, and will give him your message about the letter. I will also speak with Mountjoy, and smell out as cleverly as I can, whether those nobles have been paid.†

I do not know whether you have heard, that Allen ‡ is here in person. I have often intended to mention it to you, but it has escaped my memory. He has been recalled on some honorable pretext, but really because, as I hear, he was conducting the Archbishop of Canterbury's business at Rome imprudently.

I wish these eight days, that you say you will still spend at Cambridge, to be shorter than these of winter, and the nights no longer than the days, so that we may the sooner be amusing ourselves together in despite of Fortune, and I enjoying the gaiety of Erasmus.

I received from the bookseller your two letters with the *Icaromenippus*, and have answered them. Bullock's epistle,

* See pp. 46, 56.

† See pp. 53, 55.

‡ Apparently John Allen, afterwards (1528) archbishop of Dublin. See p. 56.

the cask, and those two short letters of yours have not yet been delivered to me. Farewell.

London, 5 Dec. 1511.*

Bernard and I have besieged the fortress with every sort of artillery, and have taken it at last. Mountjoy has paid the thirty ducats.

The above lines, here assigned as a Postscript to Epistle 240, contain the answer of Ammonius to an enquiry made in Epistle 239. See p. 53. They have been printed in all the Latin editions at the commencement of a letter from Erasmus to Halsey, Epistle 243, where they are evidently out of place. We may infer that thirty German ducats were reckoned as equivalent to the twenty English nobles mentioned in Epistle 239 as due to Bernard.

When Erasmus wrote the following note, 'on the morrow of the Conception,' he was recovering from an attack of Stone. In Epistle 261, written more than a year later during a severe attack of this disease, allusion is made to the writer having suffered from the same complaint before.

EPISTLE 241. Farrago, p. 206; Ep. viii. 13; C. 122 (142).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

May all the Muses hate me, my Andrew, if I make any pretence in speaking of your fortune. I say merely what I think. On the day of the Conception of the Virgin, we had a grievous lying-in, and were delivered of some rocks. Perhaps you will place this stone among the corner-stones of my felicity!

Take care to do nothing inopportunely with the Bishop of Winchester.

You ask counsel from me, *περὶ τοῦ τὸ παρὸν εὖ τίθεσθαι*, how you may best make use of your circumstances. Well, I will

* Londini. Non. Decembr. *Farrago.* M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

teach you,—*sus Minervam*,—and that, as you bid me, without much philosophizing. In the first place, set your face hard, and never be ashamed of anything. Meddle in everybody's affairs. Elbow every one you can out of your way. Neither love nor hate any one heartily, but measure everything by your own advantage. Give nothing except where you hope to have it returned with interest. Agree generally with everybody. But these, you say, are common rules. Well then, as you wish it, I will give you some special advice; but let me whisper this in your ear. You know *τὴν βριτανικὴν ζηλοτυπίαν* (British jealousy); use and abuse this for your own profit. Have two strings to your bow. Suborn divers suitors to pay you court. Threaten and prepare to go away. Show letters, by which you are invited away with great promises; and withdraw yourself from time to time, so that absence may sharpen desire.

I have no concern with N.* If he had done anything prudently, it would have been a marvel to me, as he is a man *μωρίας αὐτῆς μωρότερος*, more foolish than folly itself. His successor is not much wiser.

I like Griphus in every way well enough, but I like liberty better.†

The carman declares that he delivered the letter and the cask himself. Farewell, most excellent Ammonius.

Cambridge, the morrow of the Conception (9 December) [1511].‡

With Epistle 241 the correspondence between Erasmus and Ammonius ceases for more than two months. We may assume, that Erasmus carried out his intention of leaving Cambridge and removing to London as soon after the date of the last letter as his engagements permitted. See p. 53.

* The person here intended was probably John Allen. See p. 54.

† This sentence refers to the choice of a lodging. See pp. 46, 54.

‡ Cantabrig. postridie Conceptionis. *Farrago.* M.D.XII. *Opus Epistolarum.*

CHAPTER XX.

Erasmus in London and Cambridge. Intended Lateran Council; Publication of the Copia, *dedicated to Colet; Translations from Plutarch, dedicated to Henry VIII. February to December*, 1512. *Epistles* 242 *to* 259.

UPON the return of Erasmus to London and the consequent cessation of his correspondence with his London friends, we lose sight of him for several weeks, and have no information how the question of his lodging during the Christmas vacation was settled. Early in 1512, Bishop Fisher was selected to go to Rome with some other English divines to be present at a General Council, which was summoned by Pope Julius II. to assemble at the Lateran on the 19th of April (Commission dated 4 Feb. 1512. Brewer, i. 2085); and Erasmus appears to have learned, when the Bishop was already preparing for departure, that he might, if he pleased, be attached to the embassy. It was not convenient for him to leave his work upon so sudden an invitation; but he prepared letters to be sent with the legation to some of his correspondents abroad. Meantime intelligence arrived from Rome, that the Council itself was deferred. When a few weeks later the matter was again taken up, the proposed English Commission was not appointed, and the government thought it sufficient to authorize the Bishop of Worcester, who was King Henry's resident Minister at Rome, with Sir Robert Wingfield his ambassador with the Emperor, to represent England at the Council. (Commission dated 1 Ap. 1512, *Fœdera*, xiii. 325.) Erasmus was in London during the early days of February, when Epistles 242, 243 and 244 were written. These letters were evidently prepared to be sent with the Bishop of Rochester and his companions. If they were ever delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed, they were forwarded by some other means.

EPISTLE 242. Farrago, p. 311 ; Ep. x. 13 ; C. 118 (135).

Erasmus to Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin.

Reverend Father, I have narrowly missed paying you a visit myself, in company with this British embassy. For the reverend Bishop of Rochester, a man distinguished not only by the admirable integrity of his life, but also by deep and recondite learning, and commended alike to high and low by the incredible gentleness of his character, has always treated me, insignificant as I am, with singular favour, and was willing to have me as a companion on this journey ; but the information came too late for me to make my arrangements. I have therefore thought it my duty to send at any rate a letter to greet so singular a patron, especially as on my late return from Paris I came away without paying my respects to you. This happened by the following accident. I thought I was going to stay some months at the Castle of Hammes, in which I was disappointed, as Ghisbert your physician knows.

If you want to hear of our condition, Erasmus is almost entirely turned into an Englishman, with such marked kindness am I treated by many others, but chiefly by the Archbishop of Canterbury, my special patron, I should say rather the patron of all the learned, among whom I hold the last place. Great Heaven ! how happy, how fertile, how ready is that man's mind. What dexterity in the despatch of the greatest affairs, what uncommon erudition ! But then again what unheard of gentleness to everybody, what a charming manner in company ! he has the royal privilege of never sending anyone away sad. And lastly in so great a pre-eminence of fortune and dignity, how complete an absence of pretension ! He seems the only person who is unaware of his own greatness. No one is more loyal to his friends

or more constant in protecting them. In a word, he is a true Primate, not in rank only, but in every quality that deserves praise. Having his favour and approval, I cannot but think myself exceedingly fortunate, even if I have no further success.

London, 6 February [1512].*

In the printed copy (Farrago, p. 312), the above epistle ends with a clause relating to the intended marriage of the Archduke Charles, afterwards Charles V., with the princess Mary of England, sister of Henry VIII. The treaty for the marriage of these personages appears to have been concluded in October, 1513 (Brewer, i. 635), many months after the date of this letter, of which the year is clearly indicated by its opening words. Compare p. 57. I conclude, that in the arrangement of the letters the above-mentioned clause was misplaced, and that it should be assigned to a later letter, probably Epistle 281, written by Erasmus to the same correspondent, when the marriage was apparently in near prospect. In our translation this change of position has been made. See pp. 125, 126.

The two following letters were addressed to Italy. But Epistle 243 has at its commencement in the Latin copy a sentence of no great importance, evidently misplaced and apparently taken from a letter of Ammonius to Erasmus, which we have assigned as a postscript to Epistle 240. See p. 55. The message to Pace in Epistle 243 relates to the manuscript of Erasmus's early work entitled *Antibarbari*. See vol. i. p. 452.

Epistle 243. Farrago, p. 310; Ep. x. 11; C 102 (109).

Erasmus to Thomas Halsey.

If the bishop of Rochester had been aware in time of my inclination and I of his, I should probably now be with you. He is in my opinion the one person with whom no living man can be compared either for integrity of life, or for erudition, or for greatness of soul. I only except Canter-

* Londini postridie nonas Febr. *Farrago.* M.D.XV. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

bury, as one might Achilles. It is the latter alone who keeps me here, somewhat indeed against my will. Greet our friend Pace, and commend to him the product of my genius, that it may not be lost. Greet the most courteous Hungarian envoy,* *Ioannes Polonus*, your colleague, whom I suspect to be in Rome, and the rest of my friends.

London, 8 February [1512]†

The following Epistle is addressed to Robert Guibé, Bishop of Nantes and Cardinal, a resident of Rome, where Erasmus appears to have had some intercourse with him. This Cardinal died at Rome, 9 Sept. 1513. *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle.*

EPISTLE 244. Farrago, p. 317; Ep. x. 20; C. 118 (136).

Erasmus to the Cardinal of Nantes.

Most Reverend Father, the only object of this letter is to prove, that I am not yet, and never shall be, forgetful of the undeserved kindness with which your Eminence treated me both on my journey and during my stay at Rome. If I would forget the City, I must seek some Lethean stream, to cure my longing. For I cannot but grieve, when I think what a sky, what fields, what libraries, what walks, what honeyed converse with learned men, what lights of the world, what fortune and what hopes I so lightly abandoned. This longing is however softened by the extraordinary attention, I should rather say kindness, shown me by William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who could not treat me more lovingly if he were my father or brother. Several other prelates of this kingdom are also among my friends, especially the Bishop of Rochester, who will now be with

* Oratorem Pannoniorum.

† Londini postridie nonas Febr. *Farrago.* M.D.XV. added in *Opus Epistolarum.*

you, a man who, not to speak of his blameless life, has various and recondite learning and a generous heart, and is highly esteemed here for those qualities. I might have come to Rome in his company, had I been informed in better time.

If there is any business in which your Eminence would not disdain to employ my humble service, you have only to command. The Archbishop, who has not only the rank and title of Primate of England, but maintains that position by his erudition, integrity, courtesy and modesty, regards me, however little I deserve it, with singular favour. In his zeal for the honour of the Roman See he is surpassed by none, although all this realm is most devoted to it. I pray God to reconcile and unite all interests in his holy peace. Farewell.

London, 8 February [1512].*

A few days after this date Erasmus returned to Cambridge; and Epistle 245 was evidently sent to London by the first messenger available. The intelligence there mentioned makes it doubtful whether Epistles 242, 243 and 244 were ever sent to their destination. See p. 57.

EPISTLE 245. Farrago, p. 210; Ep. viii. 15; C. 106 (113).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I specially request that, if anything fresh occurs, you will take care to let me know at once. For as I was leaving London, I heard that the Envoy had been recalled from his journey† by a letter from the king, the Pope having given notice that there would be no General Council until November.

* Londoni vi. Idus Februarias. *Farrago.* Anno M.D.XV. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

† oratorem ex itinere revocatum.

A new story! Your cask is, I hear, still remaining at Cambridge with the wine in it, but spoiled. The dolts!

If there is anything of importance, in which you think me specially interested, do not hesitate to send a messenger on horseback, but first communicate with Colet. Farewell. I pray God, John may do well.*

Cambridge, 16 February [1512].†

The above Epistle contains two requests for prompt intelligence. The matter concerning himself, which Erasmus thought so important as to be worthy of a special messenger, was probably his expected preferment by the Archbishop of Canterbury. See p. 64. The last words of the letter refer to some one named John, who appears to have been dangerously ill. I suspect that this was John More, the brother of Thomas. See pp. 43, 50. We do not hear of him again, and he appears to have been dead some time before the date of Erasmus's letter to Hutton, containing his description of More, 23 July, 1519. In the next letter to Ammonius (Epistle 249) Erasmus sends a cheerful greeting to another John, *omnis humanitatis antistiti*. The person intended was probably John of Loraine, the secretary of Ammonius. See pp. 67, 86.

At the opening of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, which met in the early part of 1512, Colet was selected by the Archbishop to supply the customary opening speech or sermon, which appears to have been delivered at St. Paul's. This Latin discourse, in which the preacher urged the necessity of some reformation in the Church, was printed by Pynson soon after its delivery, and an English translation was also published by Thomas Berthelet, the king's printer.‡ With Epistle 246 Colet sends Erasmus a copy of his speech (oratio), of which the printer was also proposing to send a parcel to Cambridge. In Pynson's publication the Convocation is described as held in 1511, and the imprint bears date the same year. Having regard to the English Calendar, we must conclude, that both the meeting and the printing took place before the 25th of March, 1512, to the early part

* Ioanni bene precor.

† Cantabrig. Decimo nono Febr. Anno M.D.XI. *Farrago*.

‡ Both reprinted in Knight's *Life of Colet*, pp. 273, 287.

of which month I ascribe Epistle 246, which appears to have been written in answer to an enquiry of Erasmus for news about some matter in which he was personally concerned. This was probably his presentation by the archbishop of Canterbury to the rectory of Aldington. See pp. 64, 65. For Epistle 246, as also for the earlier letter of Colet (Epistle 223), we are indebted to the Deventer manuscript. See pp. 24, 76.

EPISTLE 246. Deventer MS ; C. 1792 (406).

Colet to Erasmus.

Indeed, dearest Erasmus, I have not heard anything fresh concerning you since your departure. If I have any further news, I will fulfil your commands and let you know. I have been lately in the country with my mother, to console her on the death of a servant of mine, which took place in her house ; she loved him as if he had been her child, and mourned his loss more than that of her own son. On the night when I returned to town, I received your letter.

I have one amusing thing to tell you. I hear that a bishop, who is regarded as one of the wiser sort, in a great meeting of people, took our school to task, and said that I had founded a useless and indeed a mischievous thing, in fact, to use his own words, a house of Idolatry. I believe that he said this, because the Poets are read there ! Observations of this sort do not anger me, but make me laugh.

Francis has come back and asked for the book, but has consented to my keeping it till St. John's day. I send you the publication containing the speech.* The printers said they were going to send some copies to Cambridge.

Farewell, and do not forget the verses for our boys, which I want you to compose with all your facility and sweetness. Please let me have the second part of your *Copia*.

[London, March, 1512].†

* libellum in quo est Oratio. See p. 62.

† No date in C.

In the spring of 1512 Archbishop Warham found an opportunity of fulfilling his promise of presenting Erasmus to a benefice. He was collated by the archbishop, on the 22nd of March, to the rectory of Aldington in Kent. The news of this appointment brought him to London, where four days after the last-mentioned date he executed in the presence of a Notary an instrument appointing proctors to take the necessary steps to complete his induction. The legal documents were preserved by Erasmus, and are now in the Library of the University of Basel. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, pp. 9-13. Knight, *Erasmus*, *Appendix*, pp. xl-xliii. Shortly after, upon his resignation of the rectory, the Archbishop charged the benefice, which, if we may trust the Epistle to Servatius (Epistle 290), was worth a hundred nobles, about 50*l.* a year, with a pension of a hundred crowns, or 20*l.* a year, in his favour, the living so charged being bestowed on Dr. John Thornton, one of Warham's suffragans. Erasmus himself gives the following history of his English benefice in a passage of his *Ecclesiastes*, or Discourse on Preaching.

Ecclesiastes. C. v. 811 F.

William Archbishop of Canterbury conferred upon me one benefice. This he pressed upon me, in spite of my refusing it because it was of a kind that involved a pastoral charge, which owing to my ignorance of the language I could not fulfil. He afterwards converted it into a pension; and when he found that I still felt some compunction in receiving money which was collected from a congregation to whom I was of no use, this pious person encouraged me by the following observation: 'What great good would you do, if you preached to one little country congregation? You now teach the preachers themselves by your books, and so do much more service; and does it seem wrong to you that you should receive some small portion of the revenue of the Church? I will assume that responsibility myself, and take care that your Church is duly provided.' And so he did, for he removed the person to whom I had resigned it, who was one of his suffragans, a man distracted with a variety of

business, and substituted a young divine of some experience and of approved character.

The young rector so appointed by Warham,—who was sworn on his admission, 18 Nov. 1514, to pay an annual pension of 20*l.* to Master Erasmus Roterodamus, clerk, late Rector of the said church,—was Richard Master, A.M. (Register Warham, cited by Knight, *Erasmus*, p. 157). He was involved twenty years later in the troubles connected with 'the Holy Maid of Kent.' Halle, *Chronicle*, f. 218 b.

About a month after his presentation to the living of Aldington, Erasmus inscribed to the Archbishop some translations of Lucian, with the following short dedicatory letter, which was printed, with the Translations, at Louvain.

EPISTLE 247. Luciani Dialogi. Louvain, 1512; Ep. xxix. 2; C. i. 183.

Erasmus to Warham.

I send you a few Dialogues of Lucian, some lately translated by me, and some revised. Trifles, you will say. Yes, but learned trifles, which may serve to make you laugh, if a man like you, so distracted with cares, so overwhelmed with floods of business, can afford time to laugh.

But to whom shall I send whatever it be, whether playful or serious, that my Muses may produce, if it be not to my one Mæcenas, who alone inspires Erasmus with courage, fosters his genius, supplies his leisure, and confers distinction on his studies?

London, 29 April, 1512.

These Translations from Lucian were probably presented in manuscript, with the above dedication, to the Archbishop. They were published in the same year at Louvain by Thierry Martens, whose printed work bears date the 24th of August, 1512.

During the same visit to London Erasmus completed the promised dedication to Dean Colet and his school (see pp. 34, 70) of the book entitled *de Copia verborum ac rerum*, a treatise of some length upon literary composition, which had been for many years in hand, and was published by Bade at Paris on the 15th of July, 1512. In this dedicatory Epistle, which bears the same date as that addressed to the Archbishop, the author eulogizes the Dean at some length for his self-sacrificing labours as a preacher, and his munificence in the foundation of his school. He then continues as follows.

EPISTLE 248. Copia, Paris, 1512 ; Ep. xxviii. 28 ; C. i. 1.

Erasmus to Colet.

* * * * *

He is no friend to England, that will not do his best to aid such an enterprise. For myself, being well aware how much I owe to England generally, and how greatly I am obliged to you privately, I thought it my duty to bestow some small literary present to assist in the furniture of your school. I have determined therefore to place its name upon these two Commentaries *de Copia*, as a work that is suitable for boys, and will, unless I am mistaken, be not unprofitable to them ; but it is for others to judge of the learning and utility of my labours. This credit however I may claim, that the subject is one that has been first thought out and expounded by me. Julius Pollux, an ancient author writing in Greek, arranged under several heads the words relating to a variety of subjects, and collected some heaps of synonyms and cognate expressions ; but who does not see, how far the scheme of this work is different from ours? Neither do I care to notice the class to which Isidorus, Marius and Philiscus belong, writers so far removed from copiousness, that they cannot even, once and away, express what they mean in Latin.

We have endeavoured to indicate some principles, and to

show as it were the sources of Copiousness, so that we might come by degrees from generals to particulars; though I admit with regret, that the work has not been carried out with due care. I was therefore not much disposed to publish it; but having found that some persons had a plot against these Commentaries, which have narrowly escaped publication in a most inaccurate form, I was forced to correct them as best I could and bring them out into the light, since in the choice of evils that appeared to be the less. Farewell, most excellent Colet.

London, 29 April, 1512.*

It appears from the conclusion of the above dedication that Erasmus knew of the existence, out of his control, of an imperfect copy of his work. A later epistle shows that a copy had in some way come into the possession of Sixtinus. See Epistle 258.

EPISTLE 249. Farrago, p. 211; Ep. viii. 17; C. 106 (114).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

If any certain rumour reaches you, please let me share it. For I very much wish to hear, whether Julius is really playing Julius, and whether Christ maintains his ancient rule of trying by the storms of adversity those whom he would have most appear his own. For my part, I have taken a vow for the happy issue of the affairs of the Church; I know you approve of devotion! I am going to visit the Virgin of Walsingham, and intend to hang up a votive poem in Greek. If you should ever go there yourself, you must look for it.

Bullock is busy studying Greek, and is much attached to you. Give my salutation to John, the high priest of every humanity.† You will thank Peter Carmilianus in my name,

* Londini, An. M.D.XII. III. Calend. Maias. † As to John, see p. 62.

for having lied so lovingly about me in his letter to Brian, where he calls me the most learned of the learned. The less I admit the truth of such a compliment, the more I am indebted to his goodwill. It has been a great honour and pleasure to me to be praised by one so highly praised. Farewell.

Cambridge, 9 May [1512].*

After the letter last translated, the epistles during the next few months become less frequent. The minute account of the shrine of Walsingham, contained in Erasmus's Colloquy on Pilgrimages (C. i. 774), may be taken as evidence that his expressed intention of visiting that place was actually carried out; and some Greek verses dedicated to Our Lady of Walsingham,—apparently the votive poem mentioned in Epistle 249,—are printed among his religious poems. C. v. 1325; Knight, *Erasmus*, App. xliv. It may possibly have been during the same summer that he visited Beckett's shrine at Canterbury in company with Colet, who has been assumed to be the Gratianus Pullus, 'an Englishman of note and of considerable authority,' into whose mouth Erasmus, in his Colloquy on Pilgrimages, puts some disrespectful observations about the wonders exhibited to the pilgrims. C. i. 783 F, 785 E, 786 E; Knight, *Life of Colet*, 209. Canterbury, being on the road between Dover and London, had long been known to Erasmus; but that he did at some time visit the sights of this place in company with Colet, is proved by a passage in the tract entitled *Modus orandi*, which describes the impatience with which Colet regarded the old shoe and pocket-handkerchief, which were venerated as relics of Becket. C. v. 1120 A. It appears from Erasmus's narrative in the Colloquy, that he and his companion were provided with a recommendation from the Archbishop, without which they could not have seen some of the choicest treasures which were exhibited to them. C. i. 784 B.

A collection of letters of Jerome Aleander to Erasmus (see vol. i. p. 441) has been printed by Mons. J. Paquier in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* of the French School of Rome, December, 1895. Most of these letters are of a much later date,—not before

* Cantabrigiæ. Septimo Idus Maias. An. M.D.IX. *Farrago.*

1532; but one of some length, from which the following extract is taken, belongs to this earlier period. In the part omitted the writer, then apparently a professor in the University of Paris, complains of the various duties which were thrown upon him there; but he does not regret, that by Erasmus's advice he left Italy for France, where he is much admired, but not well paid. He mentions in the course of the letter that he had been elected to represent his University in the second Council of Pisa, but that he had declined the honour. This Council held its session at Milan from the 4th of January to the 21st of April, 1512. The letter may probably be ascribed to the spring or summer of this year. Among the indications of date is the threatened war between France and England. In June, 1512, Clarenceux Herald was sent by Henry VIII. to claim from Louis XII. the ancient patrimony of the English kings in France. Aleander appears from his letter to have come to Paris a few days after Erasmus had left that city in the summer of 1511.

EPISTLE 250. Mélanges d'Archéologie etc. 1895.

Jerome Aleander to Erasmus.

I know not whether you or I, or both of us, are most to blame, when after as close a friendship as ever existed between two persons of the same profession, neither has ever written a line to the other, since you left Italy. If we have been both in the wrong, your neglect admits of less excuse, inasmuch as, while I wrote three letters to you when you were still in Italy, I have not received from you more than three words either before your departure or since. * * Nevertheless, when I heard that you were in France, I left Orleans without regard to some matters which were of no little importance to me, and came to Paris for no other purpose but to embrace you and once more to enjoy a laugh in your society. But the Fates were not so kind; four days before I arrived, you were already gone. * * *

Richard Croke, our common disciple, will bring you a report of my attachment to you. He is taking himself off

to England, owing to a suspicion rather than any actual danger of war, seeing that here among the principal noblemen there is no talk but of a good understanding between the French and English. * * *

Farewell, and commend me to Grocin, Linacre, More, Latimer and the rest of the learned.

Paris, 1512.†

The short treatise in epistolary form entitled *de Ratione Studii*, originally addressed to Guilielmus Thaleius (see Epistle 213, pp. 9, 10) was reprinted by Matthias Schürer at Strasburg in the summer of this year, with the prefatory sentence addressed to Petrus Viterius. EPISTLE 251. We find Thaleius complaining at a much later time (August 1523) of his estrangement from Erasmus. C. 653 D. The new dedication is placed in our Register in the summer of 1512, because the printed volume was issued in July of that year.

I cannot throw much light upon the identity of the person called Guilielmus Thaleius. But from a letter of Erasmus, dated at Bruges, 23 August, 1521, C. 653 (586), it appears that the writer had begun at Ferrara an intimate acquaintance with him (vitæ consuetudinem), which was renewed in England. Thaleius appears to have been at the date of that letter again in this country, and Erasmus invites him to transfer his quarters to Louvain, where there were ample conveniences for study, and so to escape the plague then infesting England.

The dedication of the *Copia* to Colet (see p. 66) appears to have been the subject of a bargain between author and patron, made while Erasmus was in London in the preceding winter. As the result of this arrangement, the author, when he heard that the work was in the press, expected from Colet a remittance of fifteen angels, and appears to have written a lively letter, which has not been preserved, to remind the Dean of his debt. The latter, who since the conversation in which the gratuity was promised, may not improbably have made other payments on Erasmus's behalf, had written an answer in a more serious tone. Epistle 252 is the reply of Erasmus.

† Lutetiæ Parisiorum. M.D.XII. The editor, M. Paquier, observes that the last words of the letter are in the handwriting of Aleander. I understand this of the farewell sentence; the date, without date of day, can scarcely be regarded as part of the original letter.

EPISTLE 252. Ep. ad div. p. 492. Ep. xii. 21 ; C. 106 (115).

Erasmus to Colet.

You answer in earnest a letter written in jest. Perhaps it did not become me to jest with so great a patron ; but I was disposed at the time to amuse myself with Attic salt in intercourse with a special friend, and thought more of your humanity than of your greatness. Your good-nature will put the best construction upon our folly.

You write that I am in your debt, whether I like it or not. Certainly, my dear Colet, it is hard, as Seneca says, to be in debt where one does not like. But for my part I do not know any body living, to whom I am more willingly obliged than to you. And your kindness to me has always been such, that even if there had been no substantial assistance besides, I should still be much indebted to you. But there have been so many benefits conferred, that if I failed to acknowledge them, I should be the most ungrateful of mankind. About your poverty I quite believe what you tell me, and am sorry for it ; but my poverty, pressing me more severely, forced me to impose some trouble upon your poverty. How unwillingly I did so, you may judge from my being so late in asking for what you promised me long ago. I do not wonder that you have forgotten it, occupied as you have been with so many affairs ; but one day in your garden when our talk turned upon the *Copia*, and I mentioned that, as it was a boy's book, I had thought of inscribing it to our boy Prince, you asked me to dedicate the new work to your new school. I answered with a smile, that your school was not rich, and that I wanted some one who would put a little cash into my hand. You laughed ; then, when I had referred to many heads of expenses, after some hesitation you said you

could not afford what my circumstances demanded, but that you would be glad to give fifteen angels. When you repeated this with an eager look, I asked whether that seemed enough. You replied still more eagerly, that so much at any rate you would gladly pay. Then, said I, I will gladly accept it. This narrative will perhaps recall the matter to your mind ; I could confirm it by other proofs, if you are not satisfied already.

There certainly are some persons, and those among your friends (for I have no intercourse with your enemies, and care not a button what they say), who assert that you are somewhat hard and over-careful in distributing your money ; and that this does not arise (for so with their assent I interpreted their meaning) from any niggardliness of character, but that, being unable from a shyness of nature to refuse those who are exacting, you are less liberal to friends that are not troublesome, because you cannot satisfy both ; not that this affects me, who, although I am not an exacting or troublesome applicant, have always found you most kind. This then is what I have heard, not from your detractors, but from those who heartily wish you well. I neither accede to their opinion nor deny it, except that I acknowledge your singular goodness to me. If you will consent to give the rest of what you promised, I will take it in the present condition of my affairs, not as a debt but as a favour, to be returned, if I can do so,—at any rate to be received with gratitude.

I was distressed at the conclusion of your letter, where you say that you are more than usually harassed with troublesome business. For my part I should desire to see you as far removed as possible from worldly affairs ; not that I am afraid of this world laying its hands upon you and claiming you as its own, but because I wish that your genius, eloquence and learning should be spent wholly upon Christ. If you cannot get yourself clear, you must beware of

becoming daily more deeply immersed. It would perhaps be better to be vanquished than to buy victory at such a price; for a quiet mind is the greatest of blessings, and these are the thorns that accompany riches. Meantime, meet the chatter of the malevolent with a good and sincere conscience, gather yourself together into that one and simple Christ, and the manifold world will less disturb you. But why should I presume to teach you, and sick as I am myself, endeavour to heal my physician? Farewell, incomparable preceptor.

I have done the collation of the New Testament, and am now attacking St. Jerome. When this is finished, I fly back to you. Thomas Lupset, your true pupil, is both useful and agreeable to me by his daily companionship, and the assistance he lends me in these corrections. I repay his pains with mine, and would do so more abundantly, if his studies, from which I am loth to withdraw him, permitted him more leisure. Believe me, no one could be more attached to you than he is. Again farewell.

Cambridge, 11 July [1512].*

On his return to Cambridge Erasmus had resumed his labours as Professor of Greek. Among the papers preserved in the Public Record Office is an appeal addressed by the University of Cambridge to Lord Mountjoy to assist them in paying the salary (immensum stipendium), which they had promised to their Greek professor, who could only be induced to remain by ready payment. EPISTLE 253; see Appendix A. This document, which is without date, is placed by Mr. Brewer in September, 1513. I have assumed in my Register of Epistles, that it belongs to the autumn of the previous year. In the summer and autumn of 1513 King Henry's French campaign was in progress, and Mountjoy, though not actually taking part in the invasion of France, was much occupied with business arising out of the war, and not easily accessible to the Cambridge authorities. Brewer, Abstracts t. II. 8. i. 4082, 4126, 4432. This appeal to lord Mountjoy has a personal interest, as distinctly showing, that

* Cantabrigiæ. v. Idus Iulias. M.D.XI. *Opus Epistolarum.*

this nobleman, who was at a later time High Steward of the University had been in his younger days a student there.

Erasmus's countryman, Sixtinus, with whom he had exchanged letters during his short stay at Oxford in 1499 (Epistles 101, 105, vol. i. pp. 209, 215), was now practising as an ecclesiastical lawyer in London, where he continued his old intimacy with Colet. The correspondence with Erasmus, of which there is some indication in Epistle 239, p. 53, had been interrupted for some time, and in Epistle 254 Sixtinus begs that it may be renewed.

EPISTLE 254. Deventer MS ; C. 1873 (493).

Sixtinus to Erasmus.

You cannot think how much I am distressed by your forgetfulness of me. Letters from you are very frequently brought to your friends here, but not one for me ; and how does that happen, unless I am forgotten ? Believe me, I do not forget the services you have rendered me, and if I have not yet shown my gratitude for them, I will do so when I can ; although such is the liberality of your character, that you do not much look for any return. Therefore pray let me understand, whether you have expunged my name from the list of your friends or not. This I shall judge either by a letter or by your silence ; I shall feel myself erased, if you are silent ; and that I keep my place, if you write. Farewell, and pardon both my simplicity and my brevity.

London, 18 October [1512].

At a later time (April, 1517) Sixtinus was one of the few confidants of Erasmus in obtaining the Papal Dispensation, by which he thought it expedient to guard against the incapacities arising from his illegitimate birth. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 28.

We have no certain indication of the date of EPISTLE 255. It is the answer of Bishop Fisher to an application of Erasmus for

pecuniary assistance out of funds presumed to be at the Bishop's disposal, which we may conjecture to be those entrusted to him under the will of Margaret, countess of Richmond. This letter was not improbably written in November, 1512, during the session of Parliament, when both the Bishop and lord Mountjoy were at Court. Parliament met in this year on the 4th of November, and sat till the 20th of December.

Epistle 255. Deventer MS ; C. 1813 (430).

Bishop Fisher to Erasmus.

My salutations to you, Erasmus, and I beg you not to be offended at my not writing, when I sent to you the other day. The man was in a hurry to leave town, and I met him as I went out of my house. So, as I could not write, I gave him the small present which you asked ; but not from that fund, which you suppose to be in my hands and to be of no small amount. Believe me, whatever people say, that I have no money entrusted to me, which can be applied at my own discretion. The use of that fund is so prescribed that it cannot be changed, however much we might wish it. For myself I look upon you as necessary to the University, and will not suffer you to want, so long as there is anything to spare out of my own poor means. At the same time I will endeavour, whenever an opportunity may arise, to ask for the help of others, in case my own should not be enough. Your friend,—I might say my friend,—Lord Mountjoy, I am sure, will not forget you, if he has made any promise of help, and I will willingly remind him of it, as he is now at Court. Farewell.

London [November, 1512].

The letter of Sixtinus (Epistle 254) appears to have been answered on the 28th of October by a letter from Erasmus, which has not been preserved, but is acknowledged in Epistle 258. We may note, that

the two letters of Sixtinus, Epistles 254, 258, and the letter of Fisher, Epistle 255, are among the earlier letters derived from the manuscript collection preserved in the Deventer Library, which supplies a very large proportion of the Epistles of 1514, 1515 and 1516. See Introduction, p. xxvi. But two other English letters in the same collection, received by Erasmus from Colet, Epistles 223 and 246, and one from a Dutch correspondent, Epistle 179, are of a prior date. See pp. 24, 63, and vol. i. p. 372.

Erasmus was at this time on friendly terms with John Baptist Boerio, the Italian physician at the English Court, whose sons he had accompanied to Italy six years before. A letter to the elder Boerio, dated in London on St. Martin's day (11 Nov.) 1512,* accompanied a translation of Lucian's dialogue *De Astrologia*. EPISTLE 256; *Farrago*, p. 312; Ep. x. 14; C. 119 (137). The physician is addressed as a person skilled in astronomy,† and the hope is expressed that, if the work is published, it may receive some corrections from his pen.

Epistle 257, probably written in the October term of 1512, relates to an incident in the contest then going on between the Old and the New learning. Thomas Lupset, a protégé of Colet and probably one of the first pupils at St. Paul's School, had been sent by him to Cambridge, and not long after had become an assistant of Erasmus in his literary work (Epistle 252, p. 73), and at a later time was Professor of Greek at Oxford. This letter is also of interest as calling our attention to the trade of the professional transcriber. See Introduction, p. xvii.

EPISTLE 257. Farrago, p. 183; Ep. vii. 15; C. 105 (112).

Erasmus to Thomas More.

Lupset esteems himself born anew by our aid, and simply saved from perdition. The Masters make every exertion to drag the young man back to their treadmill; for on the

* Londini. natali diui Martini. M.D.XII. *Farrago.*

† In hac excellentissima astrologiæ disciplina. The word *astrologia* appears to have been used both for astronomy and for what we now call astrology.

very first day, he had thrown away their sophistical books, and bought Greek. When the occasion arises, spare no pains to act your part. Nothing can be more grateful or loving than his character. Farewell.

I am translating Plutarch's book on the distinction between a Flatterer and a Friend; it is a little long, but I am as much pleased with it as with any. I shall complete it, please Heaven, within eight days. This seems to me almost more to the purpose than fighting with Vigilantius under the lead of Jerome. Again farewell.

If you see our friend Lazarus, a man born for the service of the Muses and Graces, pray take the trouble to salute him for me, and urge him to finish copying what he has in hand of mine; as I have some fresh things, which I do not doubt he will be glad to have. Farewell a thousand times.

Cambridge [November 1512].*

Among the work which was to be copied by the skilful hand of Lazarus was doubtless the above mentioned translation from Plutarch, which Erasmus was preparing for presentation to the King. This he hoped might be of more practical advantage to him than all his labours on St. Jerome.

In reading Epistle 258, which is Sixtinus's reply to a lost letter of Erasmus (see p. 75), it should be remembered, that at the conclusion of the dedication of the *Copia* (Epistle 248) Erasmus alludes to a danger, which he apprehended, of his book being published in an imperfect form by some one who had in an insidious way obtained a copy of it. (See p. 67.) For the little that is known to the editor concerning Thaleius, see p. 70.

Epistle 258. Deventer MS.; C. 1521 (1).

Sixtinus to Erasmus.

Though your letter was not without its sting, I was delighted with its acuteness, except where you speak of my

* Cantabrigiæ. Anno M.D.X. *Farrago.*

missing simplicity. That blow gives me some little pain; but you treat the bruise with so much care and skill, that I shall not venture to complain, especially as some reasons are adduced, by which even a sensible man, who did not know me as you do, might be led to suspect me of shuffling and deception. Thaleius' positive assertion, that the copy of your *Copia* was not given me by him as a present, but to be delivered to you, and my own continued silence when the *Copia* was so often mentioned, which would naturally have been broken on some occasion, if my simplicity had been less constant,* might certainly at the first blush affect the judgment of a sensible, not to speak of a credulous, man. But if I am now to die, my Erasmus, I shall die with the impression on my mind of that book having been made a present to me. For when he was going away, he gave the books he was not able to sell to different friends, some to Allen, some to me, and some I believe to Shurley, but I will not be sure. Your offspring was given to me, because he knew that whatever belonged to you was most agreeable to me. I do not remember for certain, whether I read the table of contents or the title, but I never to my knowledge read a page of the text, reserving the reading for a time of leisure, of which I had then but little on account of my legal pursuits.† A simple man might therefore well be silent upon the frequent mention of the *Copia*, when as far as I know, the meaning of that title never occurred to me. My story will perhaps seem to your acuteness a lame one, but really, as far as I know, I have told you nothing but the truth. There was no sharp practice on my part, and I am

* si simplicitas mihi me [*read* mea minus] constitisset.

† Quod Bomæ per studia legum minus mihi dabatur. I venture to read Quod tunc etc. *Bomæ*, an unintelligible word, is probably a mere misreading of an illegible one. There is nothing to make it likely, that during the time alluded to, Sixtinus was away from London. See the reference above to his continued silence when the Copia was often mentioned.

extremely sorry that the accident happened. I do therefore beg, and fully trust, that if you have entertained any suspicion of deception or sharp practice on my part, you will dismiss it from your mind; though I think you have already done so, when you say that the strength of your affection has easily dispersed that little cloud, and that you have been anxious that a residence should be found you near mine, which Bullock promises to do. * * *

The hope of your speedy arrival here has very much cheered our Dean, who has forty ℭ ready * for that event, if he does not send them to you at Cambridge before you come. I wish you were here, and that it might be our fortune not to be parted again. We should then have living † colloquies and not merely by letter, which I have elicited at last, after thinking, but not quite believing, that I was almost expunged from the album of your friends, when among such frequent parcels of letters from you I found none directed to myself.

Farewell, sweetest of friends. The reason of my answer being delayed is this, that the letter which you dated on St. Simon and Jude's day (Oct. 28) was delivered to me later than you suppose, that is on the 17th of November. Again farewell.

London, 20 Nov. [1512].‡

* A symbol, as above, is placed here in the MS. instead of a word. A note in Le Clerc suggests *cantharos*, Mr. Brewer suggests crowns. (Letters and Papers, vol. i. p. 442.) The money seems more probable,—French crowns, or perhaps English angels denoted by wings. I am informed by Mr. Slee, that the sign is copied with fair correctness in Le Clerc's edition, from which I have taken it.

† Essentque vini [*read* vivi] non epistolares inter nos sermones.

‡ Anno 1497, C. This date has been added by mistake in the Deventer Manuscript by some person who connected this epistle of Sixtinus with the letters which passed between the same correspondents at Oxford many years before. Epistles 101, 102, 105. It is a coincidence which helped to mislead, that Erasmus wrote to Sixtinus on the festival of St. Simon and St.

The present that Colet had ready for Erasmus on his return to London, and which Mr. Brewer very probably conjectured to have been in money, may perhaps have been intended to cover the amount which Erasmus had claimed as due to him for the dedication of the *Copia*. Epistle 252. If we adopt Mr. Brewer's interpretation of this sign, as standing for crowns, which were French coins, about half the value of an English angel, the forty crowns would cover the sum of fifteen angels claimed by Erasmus for his dedication of the *Copia*, with a present in addition.

At the date of Epistle 258 Erasmus was expected shortly in London, where we may suppose that he passed the Christmas vacation, probably as a guest of Colet.

The translation of the Treatise of Plutarch mentioned in Epistle 257 (p. 77), was presented in manuscript to King Henry VIII. In a later dedication addressed to the same king (Epistle 628), Erasmus alludes to the fact, that Henry was at this time carried away by the tempest of war and unable to give any attention to literature. War was proclaimed, 17 Dec. 1512, and the French campaign of the young king was prepared in the spring and took place in the summer of 1513. According to Epistle 257, Erasmus flattered himself, that this eight days' work might do more for his advancement than all his labours upon Jerome. He had probably talked with More, before leaving London (see p. 77), both of the proposed translation from Plutarch and its dedication to the King, and also of the controversy between Jerome and Vigilantius, of whom it may be observed, that upon many of the subjects about which he differed from Jerome, he anticipated the later opinions of Erasmus himself. In the dedicatory address to the King, Epistle 259, *Plutarchi Opuscula*, Basel, 1514, Ep. xxix. 49; C. iv. 1, Erasmus recalls his epistle addressed to prince Henry some thirteen years before, and concludes by saying, that he has made this translation for the King's use, in order that he may testify to the most prosperous of sovereigns the same devotion which he had formerly shown to a boy of whom the highest hopes were entertained. See Epistle 97, vol. i. p. 202.

Jude (28 Oct.) 1499 (Epistle 102), and Sixtinus acknowledges a letter of that day's date (1512) in Epistle 258. The present correspondence might be attributed to 1513, but it appears from a later letter (Epistle 265) that Sixtinus left England in or about October of that year.

CHAPTER XXI.

Erasmus in London and Cambridge. French war. Plague in England. January, 1513, *to January*, 1514. *Epistles* 260 *to* 277.

At the commencement of the year 1513, Erasmus, being still in London, inscribed a Latin translation of a short treatise of Plutarch on the Preservation of Health to Dr. John Young, the Master of the Rolls, to whom the work was presented in manuscript, with a dedicatory letter dated in London, 1 Jan. 1513 (Epistle 260. Plutarch, *de Valetudine tuenda*, Louvain, 1513). In this Epistle, after speaking of the labour which his work had cost him, mainly on account of the corrupt state of the Greek text, the translator recommends this treatise to the Master of the Rolls, as teaching how health may be preserved without drugs, an important object to a person constantly engaged in public duties. The little book, with the dedication prefixed, was printed some months later at Louvain, and a printed copy was sent to Dr. Young in the King's camp in Flanders. See pp. 86, 98, 99. This dedication is not included in the Collections of Epistles, but is printed by Dr. Jortin. Jortin, *Erasmus*, ii. 164.

After the Christmas vacation Erasmus returned to Cambridge; but before the end of January, if we are right in the year-date of Epistle 261, he was prostrated by a severe attack of the same complaint from which he had suffered more than a year before. See Epistle 241, p. 55. Epistle 261 is dated in the printed collections of epistles, *Cantabrigiæ. Anno* M.D.XV. It has no date of month, but appears, by the answer returned to it, to have been written shortly before Candlemas (Feb. 2). See p. 83. For the year we have also to depend upon inference. The date found in the printed copies, 1515, would in January or February, according to the English reckoning, mean 1516; and in the early months both of 1515 and of 1516 Erasmus was at Basel. The words used of his disease, in the first lines of the letter, imply that it was not his first attack. See p. 55. The allusion to the importation of wine being impeded by war might

belong either to 1513 or to 1514; but the expression *primitiæ fructuum*, applied to the effects of the war, suits best with January, 1513, when the war had been going on at sea for some months between the English and French navies, but no operations of importance had taken place on land. It may be added, that we have no reason to suppose that Erasmus was at Cambridge near the end of January or early in February, 1514. He appears to have been at Richmond on the 11th of February of that year, having been lately for some days at least in London. See Epistle 276, p, 110, and Epistle 278, with the comment on it, p. 115.

EPISTLE 261. Ep. ad div. p. 502; Ep. xiii. 3; C. 164 (188).

Erasmus to William, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Your Erasmus has to face a dangerous conflict with the Stone, the most serious he has had. He has fallen into the hands of doctors and apothecaries, in other words, of butchers and harpies! I am still in labour. The pain is settled in the loins; but it is uncertain, when and what I shall bring forth.

I suspect that I owe this sickness to the beer, which I have drunk for some time for want of wine. These are forsooth the first fruits that we are to gather from this famous war with France!

I have only dictated this letter, and that not without some trouble. Farewell, and be careful of your own health, most excellent Mæcenas.

Cambridge [January, 1513].*

EPISTLE 262. Farrago, p. 186; Ep. vii. 19; C. 117 (134).

William, Archbishop of Canterbury to Erasmus.

If in beginning a letter we wish 'Health' to those that are well, how much more suitable is it to wish health to you

* Cantabrig. Anno M.D.XV. *Epist. ad div.*

that are sick ; although by a happy omen I divine that you are already purged of your stones, now that we have kept the feast of the Purification.* What business have you with stones ? You have not, I suppose, any great buildings on hand. Therefore as stones are no affair of yours, pray free yourself as soon as you can from such a superfluous load ; and spend what money is needed to have those stones carried away. To make this more easy for you, I have paid to the son of * * , goldsmith of London, thirty angels, which I wish could be changed into ten legions. This golden physic has some good properties in it ; use it for your cure, which I would gladly purchase for you at a higher price. Take care and get well ; and do not defraud us by your sickness of the fair promise and sweet fruit of your learning.

London, 5 Feb. [1513].†

During the early part of 1513 the English government was busy with preparations for the invasion of France, for which the King had obtained a subsidy from Parliament in the preceding November. As early as the 20th of February, fighting was already begun in 'the Picardy pale.' Brewer, i. 3744. Lord Mountjoy, who, beside being Chamberlain to Queen Katherine and Master of the Mint, was captain of the fortress of Hammes, an outlying part of the defences of Calais (vol. i. p. 231), was appointed, 17 May, one of three Commissioners to superintend the shipping of the troops from the south-eastern ports (Fœdera, xiii. 368). Henry himself set sail from Dover on the 30th of June to join the main body of his army, which was already encamped before Thérouanne. Wolsey accompanied him as his diplomatic adviser, with Ammonius, now in office as Latin Secretary, to conduct the foreign correspondence. The following letter, addressed to the eldest son of Erasmus's old patroness, the Lady of Veer (whose castle of Tourneham lay on the frontier of Picardy between Calais and Thérouanne, see vol. i. p. 183), was probably written in

* Candlemas, Feb. 2.

† Ex Londino quinto Febr. *Farrago.* M.D.XII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

April or May, 1513. The meeting of the correspondents at Louvain *ante triennium* evidently took place upon Erasmus's return from Italy in July, 1509, nearly four years before; Beatus Rhenanus, in his account of this journey, mentions Louvain as one of the places then visited by Erasmus. See vol. i. pp. 33, 465. In this Epistle Erasmus expresses the grief he felt in seeing his own country involved in war. The hostilities against France were conducted mainly at the cost of England, in the name of the Holy League, to which the Pope, the Emperor, the king of Aragon, and Margaret of Savoy, Governess of the Netherlands, were parties. Brewer, i. 527.

EPISTLE 263. Farrago, p. 313; Ep. x. 16; C. 122 (143).

Erasmus to Adolf, Prince of Veer.

I have long designed, most distinguished Prince, to take flight to you, but am still detained by the singular kindness shown me by some persons here, especially the Archbishop of Canterbury. William Mountjoy, the Captain of Hammes, out of his love for you, always treats your people with favour, and does his best to help them, during these hostilities.

I cannot find words to express how heartily I grieve at such disturbances of human affairs, which no one tries to prevent. I am still more sorry to see our own country gradually involved in these calamities, especially after having been already not only harassed but almost extinguished by long wars. I only wish I could safely commit to writing what I feel on this subject.

How often have I regretted, that I did not embrace the fortune which you offered me three years ago at Louvain. At that time I was driven wild by exaggerated hopes and the mountains of gold I imagined in Britain. But Fortune has lowered my crest; and now, if even a moderate provision be made for me there, I desire, like Ulysses, to see the smoke rising on my native land. I beg you to aid one who has long been your Erasmus. You are able and are no

less willing to do so. You have only to bear it in mind. Farewell.

London [April or May, 1513].*

We gather from Epistle 263, that Erasmus in the spring of 1513 was looking forward to the possibility of a return to his own country, provided that he could obtain some adequate preferment there; but it appears from later letters (Epistles 265, 275), that he went back to Cambridge early in July. See p. 103.

While Erasmus was in England, one of his admirers in his own country, Dr. Reyner Snoy, obtained possession of a manuscript volume of his juvenile poems, which had probably been preserved at Stein, and committed it to the press under the title of *Herasmi Roterodami Silua carminum*. This small volume, in black letter type, was printed at Gouda by Aellaerd Gauter, and bears date 15 Kal. Iun. (15 May), 1513. It includes, among other poems of Erasmus, an 'Apology against the deriders of ancient Eloquence' in a dialogue between Herasmus and Cornelius (see vol. i p. 63), and also a poem by *Guielmus Goudanus* (William Herman) on the Calamities of Holland. The little book has been reproduced in facsimile by Mr. Charles Ruelens (Brussels, 1864), with a learned Introduction.

Epistle 264 is the first of a small collection of letters, of which contemporary copies are preserved in the English Record Office (Papers &c. t. Hen. VIII. ix. 359), and which are of some interest as familiar letters of Erasmus in their original form, neither selected nor revised for publication. The epistle before us has in the manuscript neither address nor signature, but is followed by four other letters (Epistles 268, 269, 270, and 272) copied out on the same sheet, which appear to have been addressed by Erasmus to a schoolmaster resident near Cambridge, in whose house the writer sought refuge in the autumn of 1513, when he was driven from the University by plague; see p. 92. The Christian name of the correspondent is represented by the initial G, and there can be little doubt, that the person intended was William Gunnell, a member of the University, who appears to

* Londini. Anno M.D.XII. *Farrago.* The reference to the meeting at Louvain 'three years ago' may have supplied the date 1512. But the mention of the war on the Calais frontier points to the spring or summer of 1513.

have resided at a place called Landbeach, about five miles from the town of Cambridge. See pp. 91-95, 97. Not having been printed, I propose to insert these Epistles in an Appendix to this volume. In EPISTLE 264 (Appendix I. p. 615) Erasmus, probably writing from Cambridge, informs his correspondent, that he has bought him the poems of Baptista Mantuanus, Laurentius Valla, Isodorus and Politianus, of whose relative merits he has something to say. He also sends him (the Greek Grammar of) Antonius Mancinellus, to be returned, if he does not need it, the *Mamotrectus* having as many errors as a leopard has spots.* This letter is dated *nono calendas Septembris* (24 August), and was probably written in 1513.

The autumn found Erasmus still at Cambridge, while Ammonius was with King Henry in the camp before Thérouanne. The John, to whom Ammonius had written, was probably his clerk, John of Loraine, who during his master's absence had been useful to Erasmus. See pp. 62, 67.

EPISTLE 265. Farrago, p. 213; Ep. viii. 19; C. 108 (119).

Erasmus to Ammonius

I have already sent you a letter, which I suppose has by this time been delivered. But it was a great pleasure to me, that in your letter to John you made mention, and such loving mention, of your Erasmus. The Precepts of Health, which I inscribed the other day to the Master of the Rolls, have been lately printed in London† in rather a pretty type. John has promised to send you one or two copies. If the person to whom I dedicated the book is in camp, and the opportunity occurs, pray greet him for me, and show him the little volume. I have improved it so much, that he will scarcely believe it to be the same.

* The word *Mamotrectus* (perhaps Μαμμόθρεπτος) represents the title of an early Greek Grammar. See pp. 488, 615. The work of Antonio Mancinelli, was printed at Venice in 1493, and again in 1502.

† Londini. *Farrago.* I am not sure whether we should not read *Lovanii.* No London edition appears to be known.

The plague is as rampant in London as Mars is with you. We are therefore still at Cambridge, looking out daily for the opportunity of flying away, but this is not afforded us; and I am now detained by the thirty nobles which I expect at Michaelmas. Sixtinus has already flown off to Brabant.

The work of correcting and commenting upon Jerome interests my mind so warmly, that I feel as if I was inspired by some god.* I have already emended almost the whole by collating many ancient copies; and this puts me to an incredible expense.

I laughed heartily at the features of camp life so picturesquely drawn in your letter to John; with such reality were the neighings and the shoutings, the tramplings of horses, the clang of trumpets, the thunder and lightning of guns, the retchings of the sick and the groans of the dying brought before our senses. How happy you will be, if you return to us safe and sound, as I pray God you may, and what interesting stories for your whole life the experience of these annoyances will afford. But I do beg you, my Ammonius, for the sake of the Muses and Graces, remember the warning I gave you in my last letter, and fight safe! With your pen you may be as fierce as you like, and kill a hundred thousand foes a day. The success of our side pleases me in a measure that I must not explain either by letter or by word of mouth.†

If you visit St. Omer, pray carry my salutations to the Abbot of St. Bertin, my special patron; also to his steward, Antony Lutzenburg, Canon at St. Omer, and Guisbert, the physician of the Abbot and of the town, who are two of my kindest friends. I ought to include also the Dean of that Church, a very honest man, and a great lover of literature. If you have any talk with him, pray ask what is become of

* Afflatus a deo quopiam. The paganism of the expression sounds strange.

† I understand Erasmus to mean, that his sympathy being rather with the French, the less said about it, the better.

my old servant Maurice, whom I shall be glad to assist, if I can do so in any way.

I do not venture to ask you, harassed as you are by so many annoyances, and, as I imagine, by so much business, to include me among your correspondents; but if it will not be too much trouble now and then, it will give me the very greatest of pleasures. I know there is no need for any one, certainly not for me, to ask you to help forward the business of your John.* I am aware how much you esteem the man; he is singularly attached to you, and Ammonius is not wont to be surpassed in love. I beg you again and again to salute Baptist in my name, whom I now expect to write to me in nothing but Greek. I pray some kind god to send more favourable winds. For this weather admits neither of lying to nor of sailing. Farewell.

[Cambridge] 1 Sept. [1513].†

In the last clause of the above letter, which is expressed in Greek, —*οὗτος γὰρ ἄνεμος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε πλεῖν ἐᾷ*,—we find fresh evidence of the doubt with which Erasmus had learned to regard his prospects in England. He had in his mind the project of a visit to the Low Countries; and had now fixed on some early day in November as the probable time of his departure. Epistle 266, p. 90. One thing which he mentions as detaining him for the present at Cambridge was a sum of thirty nobles which he expected to receive at Michaelmas; see p. 87. This sum was probably accruing due to him as Greek Professor. The amount does not agree with the yearly or half-yearly salary of the Margaret Professor of Divinity, which was twenty marks (13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) per annum.

The John of the following letter was John Smith, for several years the pupil-servant of Erasmus. The postscript to Epistle 230 probably relates to the same boy (p. 33) and indicates the time of his original engagement. His father, Robert Smith, appears to have been a burgess of Cambridge. See pp. 92, 93, 615, 616.

* John of Loraine. See p. 86.

† Londini. Calendis Septembr. *Farrago.* Anno. M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epist.*

EPISTLE 266. Farrago, p. 233; Ep. viii. 43; C. 139 (165).

Erasmus to Roger Wentford

John's father, when he was with me, declared that he wished to place his son elsewhere; and I did not say a word in opposition. He fixed the period himself at Allhallowtide (1 November), to which I agreed; and added that, if he wanted to carry him away that very moment, I should not take it amiss. I cannot be angry with him, knowing, as I do, that whatever he does in the matter is done at the instigation of others. He took his son away some time ago, and then let him come back by your advice, when I did not much wish it, having once turned my thoughts in another direction. And another time, after he had withdrawn him for a fortnight, he brought him back himself, and was ready to let him accompany me abroad. The boy has been liberally brought up in my household and at my cost; and though he has not made such progress as I wished, still I will boldly affirm that he knows more Latin than he would have acquired in three years in any school, I do not except even Lily's.* And you know that the first progress makes the least show; so far is he from having lost his time altogether! But since I see the father in his simplicity driven this way and that by the instigation of others, and the mother foolishly fond of the boy, I have no intention of throwing my services away. Nothing is so lost as what is conferred upon the ungrateful; not that I count them as ungrateful; but that is still more lost, which is conferred on those who do not understand. For an ungrateful person, even if he hides his obligation, is still in his own heart indebted to you, and sometimes will for shame make some return; while he who does not understand the benefit he receives, even thinks there is a debt

* Lily was the Master of the new school of St. Paul's.

owing to him. And as it is silly to oblige those who do not understand, so it is madness to confer benefits on those who do not wish it. The father said to an intimate of mine, that my not knowing English was an impediment to his boy's learning, whereas it is really a reason for his learning Latin all the more, whether he will or no.

But what, you will say, is the upshot of this? I will now tell you. When the father was arranging the matter with me, I am almost sure of an attendant. The other person has since changed his mind, and crossed to Brabant, but is to return before Christmas. If I go across myself, it will be soon after the beginning of November, and I will then leave John where he likes. If not, he must let him remain with me, until the other one comes back, to save me from changing my attendant so often, the time being short. This you will persuade him to do. If he is quite averse to it, he must do as he pleases; though I do not doubt he will agree without difficulty. I shall then be less annoyed at my services being thrown away, considering my pains to have been expended on a worthy object. Farewell, my Roger, and write to us sometimes.

Even now the question comes into my head, why he should think me of all men the right person to teach, clothe and board his son at my own cost! He has had less menial service than he would have had with you, and has been treated like a gentleman.* He has done no writing for me; I have not fed or clothed him meanly, nor taught him carelessly; and if he had been as eager to learn as I have been ready to teach, he would by this time have had no need of any instructor or flogging schoolmaster. And I reckon my scholarship not inferior to that of the ordinary teachers. I do not say this because I care much about the money I have spent, but that I of all others should be thought a fit person to be treated in this way, and then without any thanks to be robbed of my attendant!

* Habitus est liberaliter.

But of this we can speak another time. Again farewell, dearest Roger.*

[Cambridge, September, 1513].†

I place this letter in the autumn of 1513, (among other reasons) because of the half-formed intention of crossing to the Continent early in November. See pp. 86, 88, 90. In 1514 Erasmus left this country early in July, returning in the following March. In 1515 he left England in June, and in 1516 in August. The intention, however, of crossing in November, 1513, was not carried out; he remained at Cambridge, or in its neighbourhood until the end of the year, although during the autumn the University was emptied by the plague.

At this period Erasmus had a useful friend in William Gunnell, in whose care he was able to leave his horse when he was absent in London. Epistle 267. We have seen (pp. 85, 86), that the residence of the Gunnell family was at Landbeach about five miles from Cambridge;‡ where William Gunnell appears to have kept a school, in which he was assisted by his brother, Humphrey. William was afterwards, probably by Erasmus's introduction, employed by More in the education of his children.§ Beside Epistle 267, there are four other epistles in the *Farrago Epistolarum* addressed to Gunnell (Epistles 278, 279, 283, 286), which may be ascribed to the early months of 1514; and it may be safely conjectured that Epistles 268, 270 and 272 (see pp. 93-97), were written to the same correspondent.

EPISTLE 267. Farrago, p. 187; Ep. vii. 20; C. 109 (120).

Erasmus to William Gunnell.

My horse always comes back to me from your stable, my dear Gunnell, in better condition and more sprightly than before, a proof of the care and success of his trainer. There is all the more reason for me to ask you to continue to take

* Rogeri charissime *Farrago. Sim. Opus Epist.* Rogere clarissime *C.*

† No date in *Farrago.* 1514 *Opus Epistolarum.*

‡ Lysons, *History of Cambridgeshire*, pp. 225, 226.

§ See Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 178. William Gunnell was collated, 6 Sept. 1517, by Bishop West of Ely, to the Rectory of Conington in Cambridgeshire.

charge of our steed,—ours I may well say, as the goods of friends are common. Your kindness will not be bestowed on a man wanting in memory or gratitude.

Cambridge, 26 Sept. [1513].*

The plague, which had been already prevalent in London in August, 1513 (see p. 87), extended its ravages in the following months to Cambridge; and Erasmus in the early part of October, in order to avoid the contagion, appears to have spent some days with his friend Gunnell at Landbeach. See pp. 85, 86, 93, 95. The Wednesday, on which he was proposing (Epistle 268) to go with Watson to Gunnell's house, was probably Wednesday, the 5th of October.

Of the preservation of Epistles 268, 269 and 270 some account has been given in p. 85. We have seen (Epistle 230), that in choosing a pupil-servant Erasmus had in some measure depended upon the advice of Roger Wentford. It appears from the following letters, that the boy chosen was John, son of Robert Smith. The Cambridge annals show, that there was a Robert Smith, a burgess of that town, of which he was some time bailiff; and though there is no certain evidence to identify this person with the father of John, or to prove that the latter was resident at Cambridge, his frequent interference with his son, as shown by Epistle 266, lends some probability to the identification. Epistles 268 and 269 (the latter being a draft enclosed with the former) are undated, but they were probably written early in October, 1513; they relate to the boy's temporary removal by his father from Erasmus's service. See pp. 89, 94, 117. It may be noted here, that the same John rejoined his master somewhat later, accompanied him to Basel, and remained with him until 1518, when he came back to England, recommended by Erasmus to the service of Thomas More. C. 1680 B, 1694 B. His acquisition of Latin is discussed in the following letters. In the course of his long service his master's habitual tongue became no doubt familiar to him, and Joannes Smithus or Joannes Anglus was a character well known to Erasmus's learned friends. C. 292 A, 306 BC, 1569 B, 1570 A.

Epistles 268, 269, 270 and 272, have not been hitherto printed. The first is addressed to two persons, apparently brothers and schoolmasters, living somewhere near Cambridge, whose initials (in Latin)

* Cantabrig. Sexto Calen. Octobr. *Farrago.* M.D.XII. *add. Opus Epist.*

were G. and O. and the name of the latter Omfredus or Humphrey. It may be conjectured that G. was the same person as *dominus Gulielmus N.* (for *nomen*) by whose intervention the boy John was originally engaged (see p 33), and that this Master William was William Gunnell. The boy, as a son of Cambridge parents, may probably have been first at school with Gunnell, and afterwards removed to the school of St. Antony in London, of which Wentford was master. Upon the present occasion he appears to have been sent on Erasmus's nag to the village near Cambridge, where his old teachers lived.

Epistle 268. Appendix I. p. 615.

Erasmus to William and Humphrey Gunnell.

I cannot talk with this animal. Do try and make him understand, that I have been more than a father to him in my care both for his mind and for his body; and that he has not been losing time, but has made more progress than he would have made in any school.

If my horse needs shoeing, be so good as to have it done, as the boy will perhaps have to go further. There is an affair which keeps me here for a short time. That done, I will come to see you with Watson, on Wednesday. Good bye, and shew some kindness to this donkey for my sake.

If Humphrey has any leisure, I want him to write a letter in English to the following effect, and send it to me by John for my signature.

[Cambridge, October, 1513.]

The effect of the letter, to be written by Humphrey, was as follows.

Epistle 269. Appendix I. p. 616.

Erasmus to Robert Smith.

Especial Friend, I am not yet provided with a servant, for the man, of whom I made sure, has changed his mind and crossed the sea. Nevertheless, being determined to do entirely as you wish, I send you John, to whom I have not

been other than a father and more than a father in everything, that is, in the care both of his body and of his mind. His character deserved it, and I am therefore not sorry for the attention I have paid him. He has not lost his time, —although the first progress makes little show,—and has picked up more Latin than he would have learned in the time at Master Roger's School. I admit that he has not been flogged; and a generous spirit is better led than dragged. If you have a more suitable master for him, I am glad of it both on the boy's account and your own, for his nature is fit material for the best of artists. Perhaps you will find one more learned; more loving you will not find, though you search England through.

Farewell, with your excellent wife and all your family.

[Cambridge October, 1513.]

It may be assumed that the above letter, put into English by Humphrey, was sent, with the boy himself to John's father; but it appears, that in spite of Erasmus's eloquence, John was withdrawn from his service for a time. See Epistle 279, p. 117. We learn from a letter of Stephen Gardiner, written several years later, that Gardiner himself, then a youth lately come to the University, was invited at this time to enter Erasmus's service. See a letter of Mr. Allen, *Academy* (Journal), vol. xlviii. pp. 317, 318.

According to the arrangement made in Epistle 268 Erasmus appears to have left Cambridge, probably on Wednesday the 10th of October, and to have spent some days in the safer atmosphere of his friend's residence at Landbeach. Epistle 270. In the Michaelmas term of this year the Schools of Cambridge were closed, and the University nearly deserted. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, p. 295. But the withdrawal of Erasmus was not prolonged. At a modest English country house, such as Erasmus was now visiting, the use of wine was probably almost unknown. He had attributed, as we have seen (p. 82), the painful complaint, from which he had suffered a few months before, to the enforced use of beer, and he was unwilling to incur the risk of another attack. He appears therefore, after a short stay, to have returned to Cambridge, not without some trepidation.

EPISTLE 270 Appendix I. p. 617.

*Erasmus to William Gunnell.**

Things are here in the same position, so that I am still quite uncertain, whether I shall not have to run back to you. There has been another death not far from the College. Bont the doctor has died in the country, and his young daughter at his house. You will therefore oblige me by not changing the beds for the next four days. If I come, it will be with our friend Watson. Farewell.

[Cambridge, Oct. 1513.]

Before the end of the same month Erasmus made a flying visit to London, where the plague was also raging. The main object of this journey appears to have been to prepare for his departure to the Continent by packing up the books and papers which he had left at Colet's house. It was probably during this visit that he had an interview with Dr. Ruthall, the Bishop of Durham, from whom he received a present of ten crowns. See Epistle 274. The bishop had accompanied the king to France, but was recalled in haste upon the threatened invasion of England by the Scots. When he arrived in the North, he found that King James had stormed, taken and demolished Norham Castle; which appears to have been afterwards rebuilt by Ruthall. His arrival was soon followed by the victory of Flodden, 9 September, 1513. After the danger on the Border was over, he appears to have returned to Court.

In the following letter to Colet a part of the first clause relates to the living of Aldington. See p. 64. The Archbishop's suffragan, Bishop Thornton, who had been presented to the living, claimed to deduct from Erasmus's pension a portion of the tenths which were payable to the Pope. We may gather from another sentence that one of Erasmus's objects in his visit to London had been to see the book-

* One more letter, belonging to the correspondence with Gunnell in the autumn of 1513 (see pp. 91, 92, 93), is translated in pp. 97, 98, where the address of Epistle 272 ought to be, *Erasmus to William Gunnell.* See Appendix I. pp. 614, 615.

seller, Josse Bade of Paris, who met him at the Deanery, and helped him to pack the books which he was preparing to remove. It may be observed, that two rooms in Colet's house appear to have been devoted to the use of Erasmus. A passage in the same letter shews, that he was now submitting a portion of his New Testament to the judgment of Bishop Fisher and of Colet.

EPISTLE 271. Farrago, p. 142 ; Ep. vi. 9 ; C. 101 (107).

Erasmus to Colet.

I cannot say how much I congratulate you on recovering your quiet. I wonder what the Suffragan means, when he knew, that the living was subject to those charges, at the time when he accepted the obligation of the pension. And on that occasion not a word was said about sharing the burden of the tenths.

I perceive you are a little angry at my having left London without seeing you ; and you find fault with my impatience. I do not deny my infirmity, but at that time nothing took place like what you suspect. On the first occasion I had no business to transact with you, and your servant, William, plainly warned me that you were much engaged in writing letters, so that I might not disturb you ; though I had not come with any such intention, but only to receive from William the letters sent for me ; and I was in such a hurry to leave the place for fear of plague, that I did not even go into my chamber. So, when I returned to take the books, I arranged them with some other things all by myself ; and after I had done this, which was not till late, I withdrew from the place without lying down in my chamber, leaving to Josse the charge of moving the packages. It was in this way that I purposely did not pay my respects to you.

Your letter, dated on the 7th October, I received on the last day of that month, after I had written again to you on

the same subject. If St. Matthew is not with you, it is in the hands of the Bishop of Rochester, as I was more inclined to suppose; but, as it was separate when I gave it to him, he has not joined it with the rest. If it is lost, I shall lay the blame on myself, and punish myself for my good nature by the trouble of doing the work over again.

As people are flying from Cambridge in all directions, I have retired into the country myself: but perhaps the want of wine will drive me back to the town.

I congratulated you in my last letter, and I congratulate you again, on your returning to that most holy and wholesome work of preaching. For I think that the little cessation there has been will turn to some advantage, as they will listen more eagerly to one whose voice they have missed for a while. May Almighty Jesus preserve you safe.

[Near] Cambridge, 31 October [1513].*

With Epistle 272, presumably addressed to Gunnell by Erasmus, after his own return to Cambridge, he encloses a book on the education of children, as suitable to his correspondent's profession. See pp. 92, 93, 614, 617.

EPISTLE 272. Appendix I. p. 617.

Erasmus to William Gunnell.

I received your very kind letter on the 24th of October, which I did not then answer, on account of pressing business. I should be a most ungrateful man, or indeed scarcely human, if I declined any trouble for your sake. For I do not forget under what an obligation you have put me by your labour, zeal and love. And now with your note you send me a cheese of no common kind. Therefore, seeing that my

* Cantabrig. pridie Calendas. (*sic*) ANNO M.D.VII. *Farrago.* Cantab. Calendas (*sic*) Novembr. Anno M.D.VII. *Opus Epistolarum.*

slender store cannot respond to so many favours, I must pay, as they say, with borrowed capital. I beg you to accept Matthew Veggio's little book on the Education of Children, which I send as bearing upon your own profession. Farewell, and pray God for me.

[Cambridge] 8 Nov. [1513].

Before the end of November, 1513, Ammonius was again in London. Of the three letters mentioned at the beginning of the following epistle, one only (Epistle 265) appears to have survived.

EPISTLE 273. Farrago, p. 231 ; Ep. viii. 40 ; C. 163 (186).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

I received three letters from you in camp, which gave me as much pleasure as the French running away. I answered the first in camp phrase ; I do not know whether you received the letter. I wrote nothing in reply to the last, because it was delivered to me just before our departure from France, that is, when we were returning to the Ovation ! But I have attended to your commissions. I presented your compliments to the Abbot of St. Bertin, and read over to him all your remembrances of your humbler friends at the Abbey. He was delighted when he heard the name of Erasmus. It was just as if a widowed mother had received a message from her absent son ! He took hold of me, and led me aside, as there were several other people present, and made many most loving enquiries after you. He finally asked, how you had fared in England, to which I answered, as the fact was, that your treatment was far inferior to your deserts. In short, he appeared to be as much interested in you as he could possibly be.

I had an interview with the Master of the Rolls, showed him what you wrote about him, and gave him the little

volume of Plutarch.* He thanked me in few words, and then, being apparently very busy, hurried away; and I had no convenient opportunity of speaking to him afterwards.

As soon I stood on English soil, I began to enquire where you were, as you had written that you were flying from the Cambridge plague. At last Sixtinus told me, that you had in fact left Cambridge on account of the plague, and retired somewhere, but that having suffered from want of wine, and found that privation worse than the plague, you had gone back to Cambridge, and were still there.† Oh brave soldier of Bassareus! In the greatest danger you have refused to desert your captain! I send you therefore a small present from your chief,—a jug of Cretan wine, such as may remind you that Jupiter was nursed in that island, a product of milk and nectar; which if you come here pretty soon, you may quaff in larger draughts.

For the rest, when you congratulate me on my improved fortune, you will not be acting as a friend, if you do not equally congratulate yourself, and use my fortune as your own. I congratulate you in return on many other things, but especially on the ten gold pieces which Durham presented to you,—not so much for the sake of the gift, but because he is not used to be so generous, except to those whom he especially loves and respects. * * *

I have many other things to say in answer to your letter, as well as a full budget of small talk, which I want to pour into your bosom. Therefore let me know at once, when you return hither. There is one thing however I must not omit; Petrus Carmilianus has just published an epitaph on the king of Scots, stuffed full of womanly abuse, which you may soon read printed in Pynson's type. He is more

* See p. 81.

† See p. 97. Sixtinus had probably received a later report than that sent to Colet.

pleased with it and admires himself more than Catullus's Suffenus; and yet if I had not pointed it out to him, he would have put *pullulare* with the first syllable short! Anyhow there are plenty of things left to laugh at, and most of all, that there are any persons found seriously to praise such nonsense. Farewell, my sweetest Erasmus, and love me as you do.

London, 25 Nov. [1513].*

While the above letter was on its way to Cambridge, Erasmus, who had already received news of Ammonius's return, sent off the following note to him. It appears by the last letter, that Ammonius had already heard, probably from Sixtinus, of the Bishop of Durham's present.

EPISTLE 274. Farrago, p. 218; Ep. viii. 21; C. 114 (129).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I am waiting to hear of those magnificent military operations; and how much has been brought away in the belts. I have written to you in camp more than once by John of Lorraine. Meantime we have had quite as fierce a fight with the misreadings of Seneca and Jerome as you have had with the French. And though we were not in camp, my lord of Durham presented us with ten crowns out of the French spoils. But we can talk of this when I see you; meantime I am waiting for your military correspondence. Farewell, my friend of friends.

There is no need of asking you to do what you are always doing of your own accord; nevertheless I do beg you, whenever an opportunity occurs, to help forward our preferment. I have made up my mind within these few months to cast my sacred anchor;† if it holds, I shall fancy this to be

* Londini. Septimo Cal. Xbres. *Farrago.* 1515 *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

† Sacram jacere ancoram See Adages, *sacram ancoram solvere.*

my country, which I have preferred to Rome, and in which old age has overtaken me. If not, I shall tear myself away, it matters little whither, at any rate to find another place to die in ; and I shall call Heaven to witness the perfidy with which I have been ruined by you know whom. If I promised in three words what he has so often undertaken in such magnificent terms, I would rather die, than leave in destitution a person dependent upon me. I congratulate you, my Ammonius, upon whom, I hear, Fortune breathes favourably. She is not everywhere so unkind as she is to me.* Again farewell.

Cambridge, 26 Nov. [1513].†

There can be no doubt that Erasmus's passionate exclamation in the above epistle refers to lord Mountjoy, of whose responsibility Ammonius was especially cognizant, as he had himself acted as his secretary in writing the invitation, upon which Erasmus had depended.‡ Although there can be no doubt that Mountjoy had been personally generous to him, Erasmus may have thought that he had failed to use his influence with the king, through whom alone such a fortune as he had dreamed of could be obtained. But Mountjoy had no doubt discovered, that his friend's cause could not be promoted by any interference behind the back of the ruling minister. Wolsey had now for some time established his ascendency, and while he was not a man to allow any other influence to direct the course of royal patronage, he had himself little sympathy for the foreign protégé of Warham. We shall see a few pages further on, how he met a direct application made to him by Erasmus.

The two preceding epistles had crossed each other in transit. But on the receipt of the letter of Ammonius, Erasmus sent at once the following reply. The epistle is of interest as containing a review by the writer of the disappointing results of his having come to England three years before in pursuit of fortune.

* Non usquequaque iniqua. *Farrago.* qualis qualis (*sic*) in nos est. *add. Opus Epistolarum.* See note, p. 105.

† Cantabrigiæ. VI. Calendas Decembres. Anno M.D.IX. *Farrago.*

‡ See p. 106, and vol. i. p. 457, 460.

EPISTLE 275. Farrago, p. 211; Ep. viii. 18; C. 116 (131).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

May the Graces, Love, and Mirth, may the Muses and all Letters be as averse from me as they are from Carmelianus, if aught has come to me this year more delightful than your letter. This oath you may count more sacred than if Jupiter swore to you by his Stygian brother's stream. This is the only letter I have received; the former was not delivered, and I should have burdened you with more, but I had no hope of their reaching you. As soon as your John had given me any such hope, nothing was more delightful to me than to talk with you in such fashion as I might. Your remembrance of Erasmus in such a turmoil of affairs, and the care with which you have attended to my trifling commissions are nothing new; but no less than if they were new, I admire the sincerity of your character, and lovingly acknowledge your zeal in my service.

I thank you for the wine just as much as if I had received it; but I am astonished at your trusting anything of the kind to these scoundrels, after having had more than one experience of their perfidy. The carrier who brought the letter, says he has not had any keg delivered to him. * * *

I am prevented from coming to London before Christmas, partly by the plague, and partly by robberies, of which there is just now a harvest in England. I wrote by Brian the day before I received your letter. He has embraced this story of the French in a volume. I have seen Carmilianus's epitaph.† When I read *pullulare*, I said, There is a sore place here; and when in answer to my inquiry I was told it was by Carmilianus, I answered, It is quite worthy of him. This was taken by some as if I had said, It is worthy of the king

† See p. 99.

of Scots; while those were a little more quick scented, smiled. But fie on your excess of good-nature, to trouble yourself about the reputation of that animal! I would give a handsome sum, if you had held your tongue. I wonder there is so little in your letter about Baptist. For a message is come, that Bullock will soon be here.

If you have whole cartloads of gossip, and not budgets only, you will never satisfy my mind, when we come to talk together. I see that your John,—I may say our John,* has taken great pains in looking after our correspondence. I value him the more, much as I liked him already. According to his story † he does not lay himself out for small preferment, but for nothing less than bishoprics. I hope he may succeed. His character seems friendly and sincere.

We have been living, my dear Ammonius, for some months a snail's life. We shrink and hide ourselves indoors, and are busy as bees in study. There is a great solitude here, most people away for fear of plague; though when all are here, it is still a solitude. The expense is beyond bearing, the profit not a farthing. You may count me to have taken my oath of this by everything sacred. It is not five months since I came,‡ and I have spent something like sixty nobles in the time. I have received just one from students, and that with much protesting and declining on my part. I am resolved during these winter months *πάντα λίθον κινεῖν*, to leave no stone unturned, and, as they say, to cast my 'sacred anchor.' If it succeeds, I shall feather me some nest; if not, I am determined to take flight, I know not whither; if for nothing else, at any rate to die somewhere. Farewell.

Cambridge, 28 Nov. [1513].§

* John of Loraine, secretary of Ammonius.

† Uti narrat; perhaps we should read, narras.

‡ Erasmus had apparently come to Cambridge early in July, 1513. See p. 85.

§ Cantabrigiæ. Quarto Calendas Decembr. *Farrago.* Anno. M.D.XI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

Epistle 276, in the *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529, and in the later collections, has the following heading: Epistola familiariter iocosa. This description is not in *Farrago*. The letter of Ammonius to which it is a reply has not been preserved. He appears to have communicated to Erasmus a Panegyrical Poem, which he had himself been writing upon the campaign in which he had lately taken part, and also a letter which he had received from Richard Pace.

EPISTLE 276. Farrago, p. 214; Ep. viii. 20; C. 103 (111).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

You philosophize finely in your letter about the Muses and riches. I think myself, that our friend Pace purposely dissembles his scholarship, and affects a sort of diction more agreeable to the ears of Midas than of the Muses. But if, as you say, it is the road to wealth, for a man to be a stranger to the Muses, at any rate Erasmus will not be among the last, even with Carmilianus for umpire. For as for your putting yourself in this class, it is evident you are joking. And those splendid expressions, 'the Muses' delight' and others of the kind, only suggest to me the idea that you are deluded by your love of me, or, as I think likely enough, you want to support and console your unsuccessful friend.

In your serious advice that I should pay court to Fortune, I acknowledge a genuine and friendly counsel, and will make the attempt, although my heart misgives me, and presages no prosperous result. If I had laid myself open to the chances of Fortune, I should submit to the law of the game, and make the best of a repulse, not being unaware that it is Fortune's sport to raise some and to reject others as it pleases her. But I reckoned, that I had provided against any dealings with this insolent mistress, when Mountjoy *

* See Epistle 210. It may be remembered that Mountjoy's letter, to which Erasmus here refers, was apparently the composition of Ammonius himself. See pp. 101, 106; and vol. i. p. 460.

fetched me into harbour, and treated my preferment as an accomplished fact. The kindness of Fortune to others, however unworthy, does not, I protest, give me even the slightest annoyance; while your success and that of those like you cause me a genuine pleasure. And indeed, if I were to be summoned to an exact account of my own merits, I count the fortune I have obtained to be above what I deserve, measuring myself by my own foot and not by your praises. One thing weighs upon my mind, and that is being deceived by the person in whom I so specially trusted. And again, though poverty is a heavy burden, especially 'on the hard threshold of old age,' I am more affected by shame than by want; though in this too I must digest my sorrow, and put on as bold a face as I can. If I am born to this destiny, it is not for me to fight against the gods.

That your concerns, my Ammonius, have advanced so prosperously,*—borne up alike by wind and tide,—I rejoice beyond measure, not only because you are my friend, but because you deserve prosperity. And indeed what has Fortune yet bestowed on you that is worthy either of your accomplishments or of your character? I should be a little afraid of seeming to fawn on your success, if I were not assured that you know me well as one not used to flatter even princes; but if my heart does not deceive me, the greatest honours still await Ammonius.

The fact that your former letter and that of Baptist were not delivered, has saved me the anxiety and sorrow which the news of his illness would have occasioned, while I am not deprived of the pleasure arising from his recovery, and I congratulate myself at the same time on having stayed at home. I was more afraid of those foes than of the French, though the issue of war is uncertain. I am grateful for his offer of board and lodging, which touches my heart. I see

* Andreas Ammonius de Arena, Canonicus Capellæ S. Stephani, 3 Feb. 3 H. 8. 1512. *Fœdera*, xiii. 323.

his whole plan is changed, now that he has sent for his sons.*

I now come to your Panegyric, of which you make me judge and censor, allowing me as much authority as Homer attributes to Jupiter, by a nod of assent or dissent to approve what I like and cut out what I please. But for my part, I do not arrogate to myself either so much cleverness, or so much learning, as to be able either to correct or criticize what proceeds from you.

Our friend Halt showed me a long time ago some pages of your 'Things of Naught,' which you had so carelessly written. From this specimen I had at once conceived an admiration and love of your genius, which I carried with me to Italy ; and I recognized the same vein in Mountjoy's letter, although I had quite forgotten the hand-writing.†

But you have been long insisting on a more exact judgment, and are crying out, that this laudation is not criticism. Well then, not to be too uncompliant with a friend to whom I have no right to refuse anything, I will don the lion's skin, take the rod in hand and assume the airs of a critic.

You narrate the events in such a way that I could not have obtained a clearer idea of them from any history ; first the intercepting of the banditti ;‡ then how the enemy tried in vain to surround the king ; then, when he had returned to the fight, how ingloriously the enemy fled, while their captains were made prisoners ; the taking of Thérouanne, and the two battles about the same time, in one of which the Scots were slain almost to a man ; after this the taking of Tournay, to which the fine weather

* This paragraph refers to Baptista Boerio, who appears to have sent Erasmus an invitation which, with a letter of Ammonius, had miscarried. Erasmus evidently did not depend much on his friendliness.

† This evidently refers to the long rhetorical letter sent to Erasmus at Rome, Epistle 210. See pp. 101, 104, note.

‡ Primum de latronibus interceptis.

invited, and the powers of heaven seemed to persuade ; above all, that familiar visit of the Emperor's Majesty to the camp. There are some who do not count it poetry, unless you are constantly calling the gods out of Heaven to appear at sea or on land, and stuff your verse with hundreds of fables. For my part, I have always liked the poem which does not depart far from the best prose.* As Philoxenus considered the most delicious fishes to be those that are not fishes, and the most savoury flesh, that which is not flesh, and again thought the pleasantest navigation was that near land, and the pleasantest walking on the sea shore, so I am greatly delighted with a rhetorical poem and a poetical oration, where in the prose composition you recognize the presence of poetry, and rhetorical expression in the verse. Others are pleased with far-fetched matter ; with me it is a special merit, that you take what you say from the events themselves, and are not so set on displaying your genius as on illustrating your subject.

With one passage I was much delighted :

> Dum tu, absens procul et regno divisus ab Anglo,
> Gallorum diffringis opes et victor oberras :

because it put the matter so clearly before me. I seemed to see that great Alexander carrying his arms beyond India, and after crossing the ocean seeking another world to conquer ; marching with his victorious forces through every nation, and subduing whatever came in his way. †

But there are some to whom this line has been a serious stumbling-block :

> Nostrorum princeps tam re quam nomine regum.

Vaughan accordingly, a learned and candid person, who

* Compare the letter to Hector Boece, Epistle 61, vol. i. p. 149.

† There is a touch of irony in this passage, and the criticism is continued in a facetious and satirical strain. The first lines quoted apply to king Henry, the other lines to the Emperor, who joined him during his campaign.

copied out the poem, substituted *cunctorum*. Dego suggested *nullorum*, which was not accepted; another substituted *stultorum*, but that would not do. Dego again read, *non re sed nomine*; this was likewise rejected, and *nec re nec nomine* was also refused. Finally, as nobody is satisfied either with what you have written or with what has been substituted by others, you must consider yourself, how you will have it stand.

The next verse also gave much pleasure:

Augusta nuper qui majestate remissa:*

for those who pry into the secret forces of nature, say that it is the property of gold, to relax and expand bodies that are compact. So that other line:

In tua felici se contulit omine castra.

The happiest omen is gold, especially to one that is in difficulties.

There are several other passages that are worth marking with asterisks; and I might point them out by adding a few *scholia* to your poem, if you think it worth while. I heartily trust, that as you play the courtier so learnedly and so ingeniously, you may do so to some effect. I have given the judgment of an Aristarchus upon your poem; and you may in your turn criticize the criticism.

I understand from Pace's letter, that you have written a history of the Scottish conflict. We shall read it, when we come. I am glad that Pace is so friendly to you. He is the most loving and honest of men.

I have myself been versifying on the flight of the French, but without the Muses or Apollo. I send you the poem; it cannot trouble you more than once, as it is very brief.†

* This line evidently describes the Emperor's condescension in serving under the English king.

† The verses of Erasmus *In fugam Gallorum insequentibus Anglis apud Morinum* were printed and are to be found in C. i. 1224.

I did not at all doubt the existence of the letter, which I said I had not received. Nevertheless I am not sorry that your suspicion has brought me some advantage; for your letters are no small comfort to me, especially in such disagreeable circumstances. We are imprisoned by plague, and beset by robbers; for wine we drink vinegar or something worse, for the sense is blunted. *Io triumphe!* This is the way we conquerors of the world celebrate our ovation!

In the matter of the Adages I have been badly treated by those booksellers. One has printed the book at Tubingen, imitating the Aldine edition so closely, that without careful attention you might think them the same. I entrusted Francis,* who has been almost the sole importer of books into this country, with an emended and enlarged copy, which he was to consign either to Bade or some other printer by his advice. The good man carried it straight off to Basel, and gave it into the hands of the bookseller there, who had printed an edition already,† so that the new edition will not be brought out until he has sold his copies, that is some ten years hence. I also gave him several translations from Plutarch and Lucian to be delivered to Bade, that he might add them to those he already has. I suspect these have also been taken to the other man; and he is begging me to send more. There is Sicambrian honesty! But I have the means of righting myself, having by me a copy of the Adages, even fuller than the one he took away. With the Cretan we will play the Cretan!‡

* This passage contains, I think, the first mention of Francis Percman or Berckman (see vol. i. p. 13) and also the first allusion to the Basel press.

† Both the Tubingen edition and the first Basel edition of the Adages are copied from the Aldine edition page by page. The Basel volume is dated in the colophon, *Mense Augusto, m.d.xiii.*, that of Tubingen, *Anno m.d.xiiii Mense Martio*, where it seems that the year is shewn by the above letter to be a misprint. Both these books are in the British Museum.

‡ Cretissabimus cum Cretensi. See the Proverb, Πρὸς Κρῆτα κρητίζειν. *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. ii. Prov. 89.

I shall fly to London directly after Christmas, if Jupiter does not keep us confined at home.

Pray convey my greetings to Larke, the most civil and friendly man I know in England. I hope you will not think it too much trouble, in your next letter to Pace, to ask him to let you know what is become of my books that I left at Ferrara.* His silence has made me a little suspicious; not that I have any doubt of his honour, but I fear some accident may have happened to my papers, which neither of us would like. Farewell, Ammonius.

Cambridge, St. Thomas's day, 21 Dec. [1513].†

When he wrote the above letter, Erasmus was proposing to leave Cambridge within a few days, while he anticipated that his journey would somewhat depend on the weather. Meantime he had prepared a translation of a short Treatise of Plutarch upon the Use that may be made of Enemies, as a present for Wolsey, and before his departure he added the following short dedication, Epistle 277A, which is preserved in manuscript in the University Library at Basel, and is printed in our Appendix. This dedication,—which differs from that addressed to the same dignitary, and afterwards prefixed to the printed Treatise,—is dated at Cambridge, the 4th of January, and addressed to "the King's Almoner, Bishop designate of Lincoln," the nomination to the episcopal dignity being also mentioned in the body of the epistle. If the date is right, the death of Bishop William Smith would seem to have occurred sooner than appears from other evidence. In a grant to Wolsey of the profits of the See, dated 10 March, 5 Hen. VIII., the death of his predecessor is said to have occurred on the 2nd of January (Brewer, i. 4877); and this date appears to have been inscribed upon his monumental brass in Lincoln Cathedral. Churton, *Life of Bishop Smith*, pp. 343. Mr. Churton tells us that he died at Buckden in Huntingdonshire, citing for his authority *Registr. Lincoln*, f. 56. If this was the true date, it cannot be supposed that the news of the Bishop's death had been carried to London, that the

* See vol. i. pp. 100, 101, 452.

† Cantabrigiæ, natali diui Thomæ. Anno M.D.X. *Farrago. Stm. Opus Epist.*

nomination of his successor had taken place, and that the news of this nomination had been carried to Cambridge, by the 4th day of the same month. And it is curious to observe that the date of Erasmus's dedication,—at Cambridge on the 4th of January,—seems to give some support, as against the above authoritative documents, to the assertion of Halle, that Wolsey was named Bishop of Lincoln 'on Newers daye.' Halle, *Chronicle*, fol. 46. If he was nominated on the 1st January, the news would probably have reached Cambridge before the 4th; and Bishop Smith must have died, or been believed to be dead, before the end of December. On whatever day it was actually written, this dedication failed to reach the new Bishop, under circumstances which appear in Epistle 278. Before a suitable opportunity occurred to present it, it had lost its freshness, and was replaced by another composition. Epistle 277B, p. 113.

Epistle 277A. Basel MS. A. N. vi. 1. Appendix K, p. 618.

*Erasmus to the Great Almoner of the most Christian King of England, Bishop nominate of Lincoln.**

Attracted on the one hand by your goodness, and deterred by your greatness on the other, I have been afraid for some time to approach so important a personage with a trifling present; and now while I hesitate, the dignity of a bishop is added to your other distinctions. But reflecting, that, if your honours are increased, your kindness is not diminished, I still venture to use this little offering for the purpose of testifying my attachment to you and of canvassing your favour. It is indeed a tiny book, but to give it a compendious praise, it is Plutarch's, the work of an author never surpassed in learning or in charm by any produced by Greece, that fertile parent of great intellects. I know not indeed, whether it has been given to any other to couple so rare a power of expression with the exactest knowledge. In this little work he utters

* episcopo Lyncolniensi nominato.

nothing but gems. If anything is amiss, impute it to the translator. Farewell, and write the name of Erasmus among the humblest of your clients.

Cambridge, 4 Jan. [1514].*

Erasmus appears to have removed to London shortly after the beginning of the New Year. This was the first step of an important revolution in his plan of life. We have already seen indications in his letters, that his outlook was now turned towards the Continent, with a view both to the publication of his works and to his own permanent residence. See pp. 84, 88, 103. No further information is supplied by his correspondence, or from any other sources, respecting the close of his connection with Cambridge, to which he never afterwards returned.

* Cantabrig. pridie nonas Janũ. *MS. Basel.* If for *nonas* we substitute *idus*, and make the date Jan. 12, 1514, most of the difficulties we have pointed out disappear, and perhaps this is the most probable solution of the question. (pp. 110, 111.)

CHAPTER XXII.

Erasmus in and near London. Preparations for leaving England. January to July, 1514. *Epistles* 277B *to* 288.

We have seen that Erasmus left Cambridge in January, 1514. His correspondence gives no distinct indication that he was bidding farewell for ever to that place, which had been his residence now for more than two years; perhaps he had not so far matured his plans. A second dedication to the new Bishop of Lincoln (Epistle 277B), written after Erasmus had come to London, was inserted in the printed volume of Translations from Plutarch published at Basel in 1514. In this substituted address, the presentation of which was somewhat delayed (see Epistle 278), the author explains his view of the situation with a frankness which he could not have used in addressing the King. His English patrons, with the exception of Warham and Mountjoy, had hitherto shewn so little intelligence in divining the extent of his needs, that he seems to have thought, as he rewrote his Dedication to Wolsey, that he could not too distinctly explain, what his requirements were, and that the compliments even of a king are of no value to a poor scholar, until they are translated into acts of munificence. After some complimentary sentences, he continues as follows.

EPISTLE 277B. *Plutarchi opera*, Basel, 1514; Ep. xxix. 50; C. iv. 23.

Erasmus to Thomas Wolsey, Bishop nominate of Lincoln.

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The work I have to present is small, but to give it a compendious eulogy, it is Plutarch's; and I shall judge it to

have been acceptable to your Excellence, if I hear that the little volume which I dedicated to the King, has by your commendation been favourably received by him. This again will be proved, if the outcome of the business we have in hand be answerable to my wishes and the promises I have received. There is no one to whom I can be more obliged, than to the most prosperous of all kings, none to whom I would more willingly be indebted, than to the best of all princes; especially to one who thinks so favourably and has expressed so much approbation of our poor genius. I already owe him much for honouring me so often with his spoken testimony; but my obligation will be greater, if by augmenting my poor fortunes he gives authority to the praises he bestows. As it is, many do not believe me to be such as he asserts, when they see my position so little corresponding to the merits which he attributes to me.

Farewell, great ornament of this Court and Kingdom.

[London, January, 1514.]

The above dedication is printed without date. In this address, perhaps not very judiciously conceived, Erasmus made his last appeal to the only persons in England who could place him in that position of which he had dreamed, when, more than four years before, he so hastily obeyed lord Mountjoy's summons. As weeks rolled on, and Wolsey made no sign, Erasmus's resolution of quitting England, either for ever, or until some better provision was actually assured to him, became fixed. The annuity provided for him out of the rectory of Aldington was expressly given for the purpose of retaining him in this country; but he knew that he might trust the indulgence of Warham to secure him at any rate during the Archbishop's life in the enjoyment of his pension, and probably of some further assistance from the Archbishop's private munificence. Lord Mountjoy might also be trusted to continue his help. The uncertain supplies which Erasmus had obtained by presents during the last three years from his other patrons in England, would be for the most part lost; but those would be made up, more fully perhaps than he now anticipated, by the profits drawn from the sale of his literary works.

Epistle 278, apparently written from some temporary lodging in the neighbourhood of London, is printed in *Farrago*, without date of place or time; and the year-date added in later reprints is only an approximation. Its real date however is ascertained within a few days by the allusion which it contains to the king's illness. This attack, which was supposed to be small-pox, was a matter of interest at Brussels on the 7th of February, 1514, and the news of his recovery had reached Valladolid on the 3rd of March. Brewer i. 4726, 4831, 4845. The Saturday on which Erasmus called at the Manor of Richmond, and found the king still ill, but out of danger, was probably Saturday the 11th February, 1514, and Epistle 278 was written within the following week.

EPISTLE 278. Farrago, p. 195; Ep. vii. 37; C. 147 (171).

Erasmus to William Gunnell.

I called in London on my Mæcenates, the Archbishop and Mountjoy. Besides this, I had intended to have approached several friends with a small present, and especially the king's Almoner, now Bishop of Lincoln. But having no liking for London, where it is not yet safe to stay on account of plague, I have put this off for the time. The king was ill when I was there, that is, at Richmond last Saturday; but the doctor said he was out of danger.

There is a Nuncio of the Pope in London, the Bishop of Chieti, who is said to be a man of extensive learning. He is come to treat of peace between the sovereigns, but it will be to no purpose; and if I am not mistaken, he will pay more attention to the Pope's interests than ours.

Next May the king is to cross to the continent, and take with him his sister Mary to be married to our Prince.

I have sent the horse back. Do not let your father forget to treat him well.

I have a work by me, with which I think you will be pleased, but it is surprising what a scarcity of transcribers

there is in this country. Farewell, dearest Gunnell. Greet Master Grean in my name.

[Near London, February, 1514.]*

John Peter Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti,—some forty years later Pope Paul IV. the most energetic of Reformers within the pale of the Roman Church,—passed through Switzerland on his way to England before 16 Nov. 1513, and was still in this country in May, 1514. Brewer, i. 4563, 5048. The proposed marriage of the Princess Mary with Prince Charles, afterwards Charles V. was arranged while Henry was still on the Continent, 15 Oct. 1513. Brewer, i. 685. Among the documents preserved in the Cotton Collection in the British Museum is a polite little letter from the young prince to his intended bride, dated, Mechlin, 18 Dec. 1513, and signed in autograph, *Vře bon mary Charles*. Cotton Galba B. xiii. 9. During the following summer the cards were shuffled afresh; a peace was concluded with France, and Mary was married in the following August to King Lewis XII.

The work for which Erasmus was seeking a transcriber was probably the translation from Plutarch mentioned in Epistle 280 (p. 119), or the *Saturnalia* of Lucian, inscribed to Warham by Epistle 287.

Epistle 279 was an answer to a plaintive letter from Gunnell. The reference to the disaster of Dover (Jan. 1500) as having occurred fifteen years before,† might seem, if taken literally, to point to the winter of 1514-5 as the date of this letter, but in that and the following winter Erasmus was out of Gunnell's reach at Basel. On the other hand the allusions to the defection of John Smith (Epistles 268, 269), and to the probability of a long parting from his correspondent, point distinctly to the winter of 1513-4.

Epistle 279. Farrago, p. 169; Ep. vi. 38; C. 148 (173).

Erasmus to William Gunnell.

There is no reason, my Gunnell, why one or two deaths should so much alarm you, unless the mischief has begun to

* No date in *Farrago*. Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto. *Opus Epistolarum*.

† ante quindecim annos.

spread generally, especially as in England just now to change one's locality is only to vary the danger, and not to escape it. Avoid as much as you can the infection of a crowd; live moderately, as you do; and keep your family also from mixing with the crowd. The winter, which generally cures this kind of mischief, is already upon us.

I understand that you are seriously distressed and almost desponding, because you have lost your purse with some few coins in it. But in the first place, what has a disciple of the Muses to do with money? then, what has a young man to do with it? and finally, why should the loss of so trifling a sum affect the mind of Gunnell? Some fifteen years ago, when I was preparing to return to France, I lost twenty pounds on Dover shore, suffering shipwreck before I went to sea. I had lost all my wealth at once, and yet I was so far from being discouraged, that I returned with increased energy and ardour to my books, and a few days afterwards published my work on Proverbs. Seek your pleasure with the Muses, my Gunnell; some good chance will bring you back your money with interest. Meantime, consider that Erasmus's small funds, such as they are, are yours as well as his. I miss your company as sorely as you do mine; but Fortune will not always be unkind.

The departure of my John annoyed me at first, but now the wound is so far healed that I had rather remain without him. For what is the good of conferring a benefit on those who do not understand? What is given to the ungrateful is thrown away; but what is bestowed on those who do not understand is still more completely lost. An ungrateful man dissembles his obligation, the other is not even conscious of it.

If you make any change, please let me know. When I have an opportunity of talking with you, I have something to communicate, which I hope will not be unwelcome, nor without service to your studies.

Farewell. You will convey my greeting to the most courteous mistress and to all the rest. I am surprised Lupset does not write. I am longing to know how he is, and what he is doing. Again farewell.

London [Feb. 1514].*

With respect to the date of the above Epistle we should observe, that it was written in or near London when the winter was not far advanced, and that Erasmus was at Cambridge until the early days of January. See Epistle 277A. The reference to the late departure of Erasmus's young attendant, John, connects the letter with Epistles 268 and 269. John appears to have rejoined his master before his journey to the Continent in the following summer. See p. 92.

Erasmus probably returned to London as soon as he thought it safe to do so. He had brought with him from Cambridge his literary work, and his connection with the University was ended.

He was now desirous of sending to Josse Bade, the printer of Paris, the enlarged copy of the Adages mentioned in his letter to Ammonius (see p. 109), about which he had meantime made a bargain with Bade. Owing to the war, direct communication with Paris was difficult, and the parcel, with a message for Bade, accepting his terms, was sent through Peter Gillis of Antwerp. Having disposed of these works, Erasmus was preparing to devote his energies to the completion of his New Testament and his edition of the Epistles of Jerome.

The first of the two following letters to Gillis (Epistles 280, 282) was written some time before Easter (16 April), 1514, probably early in March; the other not many days later.

Epistle 280. Farrago, p. 313; Ep. x. 15; C. 135 (154).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

Nothing has ever come to me, my Peter, more charming than your letter. But you will readily excuse a short answer, when you know with what an amount of studious labour I am almost overwhelmed. As soon as I have

* No date in *Farrago.* Londini, M.D.XV. *Opus Epistolarum.*

leisure, I will load my Gillis, not with mere letters, but with regular volumes.

You will take care that the inclosed papers be forwarded as soon as possible to Josse Bade. I have put in shape the work on Proverbs and so enriched it, as to make it quite a different book, and, if I am not mistaken, a much better one, though it was not so very bad before. There is therefore no reason for his fearing the editions of other printers. It had been arranged with Francis the bookseller, that I should entrust him with the copy; but he went away without taking leave of me. I shall be happy to accept the price fixed in his letter, not being much concerned about the profit. Let him so prepare everything that the work may issue from his press in such a form as not to be easily rivalled.

I shall finish the correction of the New Testament; I shall finish Jerome's Epistles; and if I have leisure, I shall emend Seneca. It may be that I shall myself visit you after Easter. If I am not permitted to do this, I will send the Proverbs first, when I have a sure messenger to send them by. I am a little anxious about his providing Greek type enough for this work, which is half Greek. He must therefore take the utmost pains to get everything ready, and had better practise himself a little in Greek reading, which will be of use in bringing out other books. Do not let him send the money here nor the books, before I write to him fully what I wish. I do not see that the Dialogues of Lucian which I sent him are coming out. I see some of them have been printed at Louvain, about which I want information. I have translated several books of Plutarch, which I will let him have when corrected. I received Bade's last letter by an Englishman. He says in it, that the *Moria* has been printed by him, which nevertheless I have not seen here. Farewell.

[London, March, 1514].*

* No date in *Farrago.* Louanij. M D.XII. *Opus Epistolarum.*

The above epistle is without date in *Farrago*; and the date added in *Opus Epistolarum* is manifestly incorrect. With reference to the inquiry about the *Moria* in the last clause, it may be noted, that one of the multitudinous editions of the *Moria* was issued by Bade with the date, vi. Kal. Aug. 1512, and another with the date, 1514. The translations from Lucian were published by the same printer with the date, Kal. Iun. 1514. Vanderhaeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*, 1893.

In the midst of his other labours Erasmus found time to write a long Epistle, addressed to the Abbot of St. Bertin, but evidently intended for a larger audience, which contains a vigorous protest against the war in which his country was beginning to be involved, and an elaborate defence of a policy of Peace, with a suggestion of international arbitration, which was revived in the Nineteenth Century, and remains for the Twentieth Century to establish. The cause of Peace at any price has seldom, if ever, been more ingeniously or more eloquently defended. The short note to Gillis (Epistle 282), which contains an echo of the same sentiment, probably accompanied this epistle to the continent.

EPISTLE 281. *Auctarium*, p. 62 ; Ep. ii. 28 ; C. 122 (144).

Erasmus to Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin.

Most honorable Father, I heard by the report of the Bishop of Durham and of Andreas Ammonius, the King's Secretary, of your interest in me and of your truly fatherly love, and am all the more impatient to be restored to my country, if only such a fortune be provided for us by our Prince as will suffice to maintain our leisure. Not that I dislike England, or am discontented with my patrons. I have a great number of friends here, and many of the bishops show me no ordinary favour. Indeed the Archbishop of Canterbury treats me with so much kindness and affection, that if he were my brother or my father, he could not deal more lovingly with me. By his gift I have a considerable pension from a benefice which I resigned,

and this second Mæcenas adds an equal amount out of his own purse.* Further assistance is provided by the generosity of noblemen, and this would be much greater if I cared to press my claims. But preparations for war are quickly changing the genius of the Island. Prices are rising every day, and liberality is decreasing. It is only natural, that men so frequently taxed should be sparing in their gifts. And not long ago, in consequence of the scarcity of wine, I was nearly killed by Stone, contracted out of the wretched liquor that I was forced to drink. Moreover, while every island is in some degree a place of banishment, we are now confined more closely than ever by war, insomuch that it is difficult even to get a letter sent out. And I see, that some great disturbances are arising, the issues of which are uncertain. I trust it may please God mercifully to allay this tempest in the Christian world.

I often wonder what thing it is that drives, I will not say Christians, but men, to such a degree of madness as to rush with so much pains, so much cost, so much risk, to the destruction of one another. For what are we doing all our lives but making war? The brute beasts do not all engage in war, but only some wild kinds; and those do not fight among themselves, but with animals of a different species. They fight too with their natural arms, and not like us with machines, upon which we expend an ingenuity worthy of devils.

For us, who glory in the name of Christ, of a master who taught and exhibited nothing but gentleness, who are members of one body, and are one flesh, quickened by the same spirit, fed by the same sacraments, attached to the

* Tantundem addit alter ille Mæcenas de suo. Mr. Drummond translates: 'My other patron adds as much more from his own means.' *Life of Erasmus*, vol. i. p. 235. I presume he interprets it as said of Mountjoy, to whom the next sentence appears rather to refer.

same Head, called to the same immortality, hoping for that highest communion, that as Christ and the Father are one, so we may be one with him,—can anything in the world be of so great concern, as to provoke us to war, a thing so calamitous and so hateful, that even when it is most righteous, no truly good man can approve it. Think, I beseech you, who are those employed in it. Cut-throats, gamblers, whoremongers, the meanest hireling soldiers, to whom a little gain is dearer than life,—these are your best warriors, when what they once did at their peril, they do now for gain and with applause. This scum of mankind must be received into your fields and into your cities, in order that you may wage war ; in fact you make yourself a slave to them in your anxiety to be revenged on others.

Consider too how many crimes are committed under pretext of war, when as they say, In the midst of arms, laws are silent ; how many thefts, how many acts of sacrilege, how many rapes, how many other abuses which one is ashamed even to name ; and this moral contagion cannot but last for many years, even when the war is over. And if you count the cost, you will see how, even if you conquer, you lose much more than you gain. What kingdom can you set against the lives and blood of so many thousand men ? And yet the greatest amount of the mischief affects those who have no part in the fighting. The advantages of peace reach everybody ; while in war for the most part even the conqueror weeps ; and it is followed by such a train of calamities, that there is good reason in the fiction of poets, that War comes to us from Hell and is sent by the Furies. I say nothing of the revolutions of states, which cannot take place without the most disastrous results.

If the desire of glory tempts us to War,—that is no true glory which is mainly sought by wrongful acts. It is much more glorious to found, than to overthrow, states ;

but in these days it is the people, that builds and maintains cities, and the folly of princes that destroys them. If gain is our object, no war has ended so happily, as not to have brought more evil than good to those engaged in it; and no sovereign damages his enemy in war without first doing a great deal of mischief to his own subjects. And finally, when we see human affairs always changing and confused, like the ebb and flow of Euripus, what is the use of such great efforts to raise an empire, which must presently by some revolution pass to others? With how much blood was the Roman empire raised, and how soon did it begin to fall!

But you will say, that the rights of sovereigns must be maintained. It is not for me to speak unadvisedly about the acts of princes. I only know this, that *summum jus*,—extreme right, is often *summa injuria*,—extreme wrong; there are princes who first decide what they want, and then look out for a title with which to cloak their proceedings. And in such great changes of human affairs, among so many treaties that have been made and abandoned, who, I ask you, need lack a title?

But suppose there is a real dispute, to whom some sovereignty belongs, where is the need of bloodshed? It is not a question concerning a nation's welfare, but only whether it is bound to call this or that personage its sovereign. There are Popes, there are Bishops, there are wise and honorable men, by whom such small matters may be settled, without sowing the seeds of war upon war, and throwing things divine and human alike into confusion. It is the proper function of the Roman Pontiff, of the Cardinals, of Bishops, and of Abbots to compose the quarrels of Christian Princes, to exert their authority in this field, and show how far the reverence of their office prevails. Julius, a pope not universally admired, had power enough to raise this tempest of war. Will not Leo, a learned, honest and pious pontiff, be able to calm it?

We should also remember, that men, and especially Christian men, are free agents; and after they have long prospered under a certain sovereign and still acknowledge his sovereignty, why should everything be upset by a revolution? Long consent creates a sovereign even among heathen nations, much more among Christians, to whom sovereignty is a service, not a lordship, so that, if a part of his subjects are taken away, he should be regarded not as injured, but relieved from part of his burden.

But suppose, you will say, the other side refuses to yield to the decision of good men; in that case what would you have me do? In the first place, if you are a true Christian, I would have you bear and forbear, disregarding that right of yours, whatever it may be. And in the next place, if you are only a wise man, pray calculate what the vindication of your right will cost you. If the cost is excessive,—and it will surely be so, when you assert it by arms,—do not then insist upon your title, perhaps unfounded after all, at the cost of so much misery to mankind, of so many killed, so many orphans, so many tears. What do you suppose the Turks think, when they hear that Christian princes are raging with so much fury against each other, and that only for the title of sovereignty? Italy is now delivered from the French, and what has been the effect of so much bloodshed, but that where a Frenchman was in office before, someone else is in office now? And the country flourished better before than it does now!

If there are any rights which admit of being defended by war, they are rights of a grosser kind, which savour of a Christianity already becoming degenerate and burdened with the wealth of this world; and I know not whether I should sanction such wars; though I see that war is sometimes not disapproved by pious authors, when for the maintenance of the faith, the peace of Christendom is defended against the invasion of barbarians. But why

should we dwell on these few human authorities, rather than on those many sayings of Christ, of the Apostles, and of the orthodox and most approved Fathers on the subject of peace and the tolerance of evils? What policy is there, that may not in some way be defended, especially when the persons, who have the conduct of affairs, are those whose very crimes are praised by many for the sake of flattery, while no one dares to find fault with their errors? But in the meantime it is not unknown, what are the sighs and longings and prayers of reasonable men. But if you look a little closely, you will find that it is generally the private interests of princes that give occasion to war. And I would ask you, do you think it consistent with humanity, that the world should be at any moment disturbed by war, when this or that sovereign has some cause of complaint against another, or perhaps pretends to have one.

We may wish the best event, but can only wish. For my own part, whatever fortune I have is in England, but I would willingly resign it all, on condition that a Christian peace might be established between Christian sovereigns. This object will be no little promoted by your authority, which has much influence with prince Charles, and very much with Maximilian, while it is favorably regarded by the English nobility. I have no doubt you have already found, what heavy losses occur in war-time even through the acts of friends. You will therefore be attending to your own interest, if you endeavour to bring this war to an end.

I shall hasten to your embrace, as soon as I can fly hence. Meantime farewell, most reverend Father. My best wishes to Doctor Ghisbert and Antony Lutzenburg.

London, 14 March, 1514.

Our illustrious prince Charles is happy in being betrothed to such a bride. Nothing could be framed by nature more charming or more perfect; and she is as superior to all others in virtue and good sense as she is in beauty. Farewell.

The printed year-date appears to be right according to the English Calendar.* The paragraph about the betrothal of prince Charles, here placed as a postscript to Epistle 281, is found in *Farrago*, p. 312, at the end of an earlier epistle addressed to the same correspondent. The reasons for removing it to its present place are explained in p. 59.

EPISTLE 282. Farrago, p. 195; Ep. vii. 36; C. 1775 (387).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

You are usually the first to challenge me with a letter; but now you do not even return my shot. I wrote on the subject of the works about which I had made an agreement with Bade. I had some suspicion, that Francis† had not conducted the business quite honestly; and therefore wanted to be informed by a letter from you.

It cannot be expressed how sorry I am, that our countrymen are gradually being involved in war, having been already harried by so many wars, or, to speak more plainly, so many depredations. Oh tongue-tied Divines, oh dumb Bishops, who gaze in silence on these plagues of humanity! Write, my Peter, and farewell.

[London, March, 1514]‡

In the summer of 1514, shortly before he left England, Erasmus made the acquaintance of a personage, with whom he had afterwards some correspondence. See Epistles 479, 520. Cardinal Lewis Canossa was despatched by Leo X. on a secret embassy to the courts of France and England, to assist in the negotiations for peace, and doubtless, as Erasmus had observed in the case of Caraffa (see p. 115), to have an eye to the Papal interest in the settlement of the terms. The negotiations being of a private nature, there was no public reception of the envoy, and when, upon his arrival in London, Erasmus was invited to meet

* Londoni, pridie Idus Martias. Anno M.D.XIII. *Opus Epistolarum.*

† See p. 119.

‡ No date in *Farrago* or *Opus Epistolarum.*

him at dinner at the house of Ammonius, his identity was concealed, doubtless by his own wish, from his fellow-guest, who has described the interview in a letter written in 1532 to his friend, Germain Brice. Canossa was on this occasion not even dressed as a clergyman, and was described by his host as an Italian merchant. After some conversation,—in which Erasmus discussed with much freedom the report that the Pope was sending a representative to England to consider the terms of peace, but in which Canossa appears to have taken no part,—the supposed merchant surprised Erasmus by expressing to him in Latin his wonder that he should have chosen to live in this barbarous country, suggesting that he had preferred to be alone in England rather than the first among many learned persons in Rome. To this Erasmus made a spirited and modest reply. After leaving the dining-room, which commanded a view of the Thames, Erasmus had a conversation with Ammonius in the garden, without being informed of the identity of his fellow-guest, and left the house by the land entrance, preferring to return home on foot instead of calling a boat. In a conversation with Erasmus a few days after, Ammonius revealed the character of his guest, who sent Erasmus a message inviting him to accompany him back to Italy.

No particulars are found, in the State papers abstracted by Mr. Brewer, of the diplomatic proceedings of Cardinal Canossa in this country. But the date is indicated by a despatch from the Bishop of Worcester, Henry's agent at Rome, to that king, dated 20 May, 1514, in which he mentions that pope Leo had secretly sent the bishop of Tricarico to discover the disposition of the French king for a truce, and that he had that minute sent a messenger to him to bid him proceed from the French Court to England. Brewer, i. 5107. We may conclude, that Canossa (who was then bishop of Tricarico, and later of Bayeux) arrived in London in June, 1514.

I have been the more particular in mentioning the description given by Erasmus of the residence of Ammonius, as it shews that the Latin Secretary, after his appointment to a Canonry of the royal college of St. Stephen, occupied one of the Canon's houses attached to the Chapel afterwards used as the House of Commons, which stood on the site of the present House.

Epistles 283 and 286 are clearly connected in the order in which they stand. The second is dated from London, 28 April (without year), and the other was evidently written not many days before. The

reference in Epistle 283 to imminent war might seem to point to 1513 (see p. 82), but other indications in the second letter lead me to place them both in the year 1514. In his reference to war Erasmus may have been thinking of a fresh outbreak and its probable extension to his own country (see Epistle 282, p. 126); and among the passages which point to 1514, is that in which Erasmus declares his intention of leaving England within a time reckoned by days. See p. 132. It appears by Epistle 283, that, when he found himself settled for the time in London, he had sent back his horse to Master Gunnell's stable at Landbeach. See pp. 91, 115. The passage in which he speaks of a 'new evil genius,' is explained in Epistle 286, pp. 132, 133.

EPISTLE 283. Farrago, p. 168; Ep. vi. 36; C. 147 (170).

Erasmus to William Gunnell.

These times distress me, my Gunnell, in more ways than one. All about here are sparks of plague, which seems likely to be raging soon; and war, which is an ocean of calamities, is hanging over us.*

I am suffering myself from some private discomforts; and, besides that, a new evil genius has lately risen against me, a puny creature, but possessing so much poison that a viper or asp is harmless compared with it.

Pray write to me by Watson. Let me know how my Pegasus thrives, and more especially how you are yourself, and how is your most courteous host, and the lady of the house, a pattern of all goodness.

Please present my salutations to Commissary Grean, our common friend, or patron, as I might more truly call him. Farewell.

London, [April, 1514].†

To this letter, an answer was returned before the date of Epistle 286.

* Bellum imminet.

† Londoni. *Farrago.* Londini, Anno M.D.XV. *Opus Epistolarum.*

A somewhat lengthy letter, dated the 20th of April, 1514, and addressed to Erasmus by John Borssele, a Prebendary of Middelburg, in Zealand, has been preserved in the Deventer manuscript. EPISTLE 284, C. 1524 (6). The writer owed his preferment to *Philippus Hispanus* (Philip van Spangen), a nobleman who took his name from the castle of Spangen near Rotterdam, and was a cousin of the lords of Bergen, his mother being one of the family of Grimberg. Philip had lately been staying with the writer, who had shown him several of Erasmus's books, and given him, as a present, a handsomely bound copy of the volume of *Lucubrationes*, which included the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*. John Borssele, who was afterwards Dean of Veer, in a later letter dated from that place, 28 March, 1519, Ep. vi. 15; C. 414 (400), announced to Erasmus the death of his old patroness the lady of Veer, who was, I presume, a cousin of the writer. See vol. i. p. 175.

Epistle 285 is of interest as being the first letter which has been preserved of the correspondence between Erasmus and Reuchlin, the two scholars who were most instrumental in discrediting the Scholastic Theology, which at the beginning of the sixteenth century was dominant in all the Universities of Europe, and before the death of Erasmus had in a great measure lost its authority. The principal mean by which the Medieval Theology was supplanted was an appeal to the most authentic sources of Christian dogma by the study of the Old and New Testament in their original tongues. To this work Erasmus contributed an important part by printing the New Testament in Greek, with a fresh translation, and a fresh commentary. Reuchlin, who was his senior by about eleven years, was not only a Greek, but also a Hebrew scholar, and was now engaged in a warm contest in defence of the very foundations of Hebrew learning. The following passage from one of his letters in answer to a correspondent, who wished to have the *Canticum Canticorum* (or Song of Solomon) in Greek, is worth citing as a brief and striking declaration of the new method of criticism as applied to Theology. It occurs in an Epistle to Leonard, Abbot of Oppenpurr, dated 5 Aug. 1513. "Such is the interest I take in the idioms and characteristic properties of languages, that I do not care to have any book in any tongue but that in which it was first written, being always afraid of translations, by which I have often been misled. Accordingly I read the New Testament in Greek, and the Old Testament in Hebrew, and in their interpretation I prefer to trust my own intelligence. And so of other writings; although I

do not disdain to listen to others, and am pleased to know what is thought and felt by many minds." Geiger, *Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, p. 189.

For some years (1510-1514) Reuchlin had been involved in a bitter controversy, which had arisen out of a monstrous proposal made to the University of Cologne by a converted Jew named Pfefferkorn, that all the Hebrew books that could be found, except the Bible, should be destroyed, being presumably opposed to Christianity. Reuchlin, as a Hebrew scholar, was invited by the emperor Maximilian to give his opinion upon this proposal, which he did in a treatise entitled *Oculare Speculum* (The Mirror). The further progress of this controversy is narrated by Reuchlin himself in the following Epistle. Erasmus in his English retreat appears to have been watching with interest the contest which was raging among the learned in Germany, and to have put himself into communication with Reuchlin. We shall see (Epistle 294), that he succeeded in interesting some of his influential English friends, especially Bishop Fisher and Dean Colet, on behalf of the German scholar, whose letter gives the impression of an ardent controversialist.

Epistle 285. Deventer MS, C. 1524 (5).

John Reuchlin to Erasmus.

It was by the command of our emperor Maximilian, that I wrote my counsel upon the proposed burning of the books of the Jews. This was attacked by some professors of theology at Cologne, not in language becoming to doctors, but with most violent personal insults and abuse, after the fashion of the meanest buffoons. And when I defended my own character, as I was bound to do, by putting forth an Apology, the same persons were so embittered, that they got together a quantity of detestable calumnies against my counsel ; and having thereby obtained a colourable pretext for vilifying me to the public, they determined to burn my book of counsel (to which I had given the title of *Oculare Speculum*) at the city of Mayence by means of the Inquisitor

of the Friars Preachers. This catastrophe, much to the disappointment of the Friars, who came together like flies in sultry weather, I averted by a legal process, appealing to the Apostolic See, which thereupon committed the whole cause to the Bishop of Spires, and inhibited all judges and persons whatsoever, to do or attempt anything in the matter of the *Oculare Speculum*, under pain of excommunication. The above-named Apostolic Judge did accordingly proceed, and the Friars Preachers sent their proctor, but not in legal form, in contempt of the Judge and to my prejudice, in order to impede my proceeding. Meantime the Friars Preachers, during the pendency of the suit and after the inhibition to them communicated, did among themselves at Cologne burn the said book. Nevertheless the Apostolic Judge has forthwith proceeded, and with the advice of Legists and Divines has pronounced that definitive sentence, which I now send to satisfy the kind interest that you feel in all lovers of good Letters. If a year ago, a Swabian living in the Hercynian hills, I have been branded by envious hands before your British and English friends, I shall now by your defence be reinstated, as against these incendiaries of books.

Farewell and be happy. Καπνίον ὁ σός.

Frankfort, at the April Fair, 1514.

In Epistle 286 Erasmus mentions a work,—already alluded to in Epistles 278 and 279,—which he had been preparing with some notes of his own for the use of young Latin scholars, and in which the principal article was known under the title of *Catonis disticha moralia*. It is of interest to observe, that Erasmus contemplated the circulation of this little book by transcription (see Introduction, pp. xxi, xxii), but complains of the difficulty of getting the copies written out. The book was printed in September of the next year by Thierry Martens, at Louvain, and appears to have been much in demand, as it was reprinted in countless editions during that and succeeding years by a multitude of booksellers in Germany, the Netherlands, France and

finally England, the first English edition being apparently that of Grafton in 1553.

It appears by the following letter, that Erasmus was at variance with John Baptist Boerio. This new quarrel is alluded to in Epistle 283.

EPISTLE 286. Farrago, p. 195; Ep. vi. 37; C. 148 (172).

Erasmus to Gunnell.

What you tell me about the horse is charming, and I find in it a fresh proof of your kindness.

The *Cato* and the other things we have added to it were finished long ago, but we have only one copy for want of transcribers. We have added to the old collection a great number of like passages from Pliny. I think they will be of great use to you and yours, but there is no one to copy them out. Such is the dislike of work, such is the love of ease among Britons, that they are not aroused even by the gleam of an insidious coin. If you come here, I will gladly put both these and all the rest at your disposal. Whether it will be worth your while to do so, you must reckon for yourself; to me at any rate it will be most welcome. But there are sparks of plague, to use our friend Grean's phrase, in some places about here, and the malady had the boldness lately to invade even the Court, where two or three persons died. However, if you do fly up, you must make haste, for I am preparing to run away some forty days hence, unless a new turn of fortune should take place, of which as yet I do not see so much as a dream.

I have written about the news to Grean. Farewell, dearest Gunnell.

I had almost forgotten the thing you wanted so much to know, I mean, what is that evil genius which has lately come in my way. It is a puny insect, but as venomous and

pestilent as any bred by sea or land. It is made of poison, which it breathes even from a distance both on friends and foes. This plague has been sent us from Liguria, a country more productive of this sort of venom than Iberia. If you wish to know the name, it is one quite unsuitable to the character of John Baptist. In my simplicity and candour I had contracted with him an almost domestic intimacy, but drew back at the taste of poison; and the man, being hurt at my slipping away from him, breathes his venom from afar, and seeks to wound me with his tongue. Two considerations comfort me; one, that there is no fault on my side, the other, that no one believes him; he is so universally out of favour, that he is not loved even by his brothers or children, and is at war with his wife. Again farewell.

London, 28 April [1514].*

In the early summer of 1514 Erasmus was looking over the translations which he had made at various times from the Dialogues of Lucian, with a view to a collected edition of them, to be published at Paris by Bade. It was probably on this occasion, that his attention was called to a translation of one of these dialogues, entitled *Saturnalia*, which had not been used as a literary offering to any patron. Before sending the manuscript to Bade, he had a fair copy of this dialogue made, which he sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who appears to have been pleased with these versions of an author, whose works were probably first made known to him in this way. The Dialogue was accompanied by the following epistle.

EPISTLE 287; Epist. ad div. p. 501; Ep. xii. 37; C. 164 (189).

Erasmus to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

My abhorence of ingratitude is like the feeling of Homer's Achilles about lying; and my obligation to your liberality

* Londini. Quarto Calen. Maias. *Farrago.* M.D.XV. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

is great beyond all measure. But while the trivial favours of ordinary friends may well be requited by thanks, I see that to attempt to make any such return to so transcendent a benefactor is so far from the attitude of a grateful man, as to seem more like ingratitude or insolence. In these circumstances I have thought it the best thing I could do, to beg you to accept a small literary keepsake,—a flower culled from the garden of the Muses,—in evidence of a grateful and loving heart. I therefore send you a Latin version of the *Saturnalia* of Lucian, an amusing book, which I have not inscribed to any other patron, and which you may seasonably take up when you are inclined to laugh, or I should rather say, if you are ever permitted to do so in the crowd of affairs which, to use the words of Horace,

Over your head and round your shoulders swarm.*

But why should statesmen be blamed, if their minds being wearied with cares, they choose to refresh them with a laugh, when in Hesiod Jupiter himself laughs, the great 'father both of men and gods'; especially if the laughter be such as I think this will be, not tasteless or unrefined, and perhaps even more profitable than those serious but very vexatious affairs.

Farewell, most reverend Father; and continue to protect your Erasmus against that worse than Lernæan monster.

[London, May, 1514].†

We have seen (pp. 112, 132) that after an experience of nearly four years, Erasmus was inclined to discontinue altogether his residence

* aliena negotia centum
Per caput et circa saliunt latus. Horat. Satir. ii. 6, 33.

† No date in *Epist. ad diversos.* Anno M.D.XV. *Opus Epistolarum.* That year-date is inadmissible, as the translated Dialogue is in the collection published by Bade in 1514; where however this epistle is not inserted among the dedications.

in England, where his fortune had not answered his expectations, and to seek for a more favorable establishment elsewhere. Francis Perckman or Berckman, who had, as appears by Epistle 276 (p. 109), carried off into Germany some of Erasmus's writings intended for publication at Paris, had again returned to England, and was able to bring Erasmus an authentic account of what was going on in the printing-office of Froben at Basel. The task which Erasmus had long proposed to himself,—the restoration of the text of Jerome, and especially of Jerome's Epistles,—was, he found, actually being carried out in that city by some laborious students, backed by the capital of the printers, Froben and Amerbach, who were resolved to make this work a monument of the zeal and erudition with which their press was conducted. Erasmus found that he must either resign his cherished ambition of being the restorer of Jerome, or offer himself as an assistant, and perhaps be accepted as the leader, of this devoted band. From this time therefore his face was set towards Basel, and preparations were at once made for this journey, in the course of which he would be able to renew his intercourse with his friends in Artois and Brabant. He sent his heavier goods by ship to Antwerp, and prepared to follow, after a few days, by his usual route through Dover and Calais.

EPISTLE 288. Farrago, 194; Ep. vii. 32; C. 136 (156).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

You will receive herewith by Antony the shipman my four cases,—one square wooden box tied with cord, and three French trunks covered with leather. Stow them away either in your house or in some safe place till I come. You will pay the shipman, if you think right; unless perhaps he gets the money from me here; for I have not yet made my bargain with him. I shall be with you soon, after visiting lord Mountjoy and a few friends, and we shall be able to talk together about every thing.

I am surprised at Francis the bookseller having come here without a letter from you. Please take care of my

possessions, and regard them as your own. Farewell, best of friends.

London, [June or July] 1514.*

Nothing now remained for Erasmus but to take leave of his friends, and follow his cases to the Continent. His leave-taking and journey are described in Epistle 289. It is of interest to observe, that the Court at which Erasmus took leave of king Henry and his ministers, where the king gave him, as usual, a gracious smile, and Wolsey regaled him once more with empty hope, was probably at Eltham, the same palace where he had first seen Henry as a boy nearly fifteen years before. See our first volume, p. 200. The king appears to have been there from May to July. Brewer, *Abstracts*, i. 5123, 5238, and intermediate numbers.

* Londini. Anno M.D.XIIII. *Farrago.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

Departure from England, July, 1514; *Epistle to Servatius; Visit to Flanders and Brabant, July, August,* 1514. *Epistles* 289 *to* 293.

By the 8th of July, 1514, Erasmus had already crossed the Channel, and was staying with Lord Mountjoy at the castle of Hammes. The following letter is addressed in *Farrago*: Andreæ Ammonio Sereniss. Regis Anglorum a secretis.

Epistle 289. Farrago, p. 236 ; Ep. viii. 47 ; C. 136 (159).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I called more than once at your house for the purpose of bidding a final farewell to the sweetest of all my friends, and of enjoying to the last possible moment an association which has been one of the greatest pleasures I have had in my life.

We had a fair passage, though it was an anxious one for me. The sea was calm, the wind favourable, the weather fine, the hour most convenient, for we set sail about seven o'clock. But those sea-robbers had carried off a mail filled with my writings to some other ship. This is a thing they do on purpose, in order to steal something, if occasion serves, or, if not, to extort some money by selling you what is your own. Accordingly, believing the labours of so many years to be gone for ever, I felt for the time as much grief as any parent for the death of his offspring. In all other matters these fellows treat foreigners just in the same way, so that it would be better to fall into the hands of any

Turks than into theirs. I often wonder that such scoundrels are tolerated by the English Government to the great annoyance of those who visit the country, and the greatest discredit of the whole island, as every traveller carries home the story of the inhuman reception he has met with, and other people form an estimate of the nation by the acts of these robbers.

I do not know whether I have told you, that I paid my respects in person to the King's Majesty, who received me with quite a friendly air. Then the bishop of Lincoln bade me be of the best and surest hope. He said nothing about any present, nor did I venture to hint at it for fear of seeming importunate. The bishop of Durham, as I took leave, gave me six angels, and that of his own accord, and if I am not mistaken, for the fourth time. The archbishop took some pains to find an opportunity of adding a like amount; and the bishop of Rochester gave me a royal. This is the sum total of what I carry away; and I wished you to know it, that it may not be thought I have collected a great amount of money under the pretext of leave-taking.

I am now at the castle of Hammes, where I am to spend a very few days with my lord Mountjoy; and shall then go on to Germany, visiting some friends on the way. If Fortune answers to my wishes and to the promises of others, we shall soon return to England. If not, we shall be advised by circumstances. God grant that I may return in safety, and find my Ammonius not only safe, but enriched with the choicests gifts of Fortune. If any opportunity should arise for promoting the interests of your Erasmus, I have no doubt that you will be the same good friend in his absence as you have always hitherto been to him, whether absent or present. Farewell, my best of friends.

From the Castle of Hammes, 8 July, 1514.*

* Ex arce Hāmensi. postridie nonas Julias. *Farrago.* M.D.XIIII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

Epistle 290 is the Epistle to Servatius, often quoted as an authority upon the biography of Erasmus, but not authenticated by himself or his literary executors. It first appeared in a pamphlet printed at Ghent a few months after Erasmus's death,* and was repeated in a similar publication at Antwerp in the following year. The history of these pamphlets, and of the authorized memorial volume, published between their dates, which contains a preface by Boniface Amerbach, warning the public against fictitious writings attributed to Erasmus, may be more fully read in the Introduction to our former volume, where the question of the authenticity of the Epistle to Servatius is briefly discussed. Introduction, pp. xxxviii—xliv.

It is a probable supposition, that Erasmus had received from the Prior of the Convent of Stein more than one expostulatory letter on the subject of his abandonment of the monastic profession. His short letters sent to this correspondent from Italy have an apologetic tone. And according to the statements of the Epistle itself, a letter of this description had lately come into his hands, which had gone astray and been read by others before it reached him. It is not inconceivable that he had purposely delayed his answer to such communications, until he had started upon a distant journey which would take him out of reach of his former companions, and might possibly carry him as far as Rome. The epistle in question does not contain any error which would conclusively lead to the inference of forgery. It is true that the duration of Erasmus's residence at Cambridge appears to be understated, and the conditions of his teaching are somewhat misrepresented. See p. 146, and compare Epistle 227, where it is implied, that the profits of his lecture were not a sufficient motive for his residence. But the misstatement is perhaps one more likely to be made by the assumed author than by a careful student of his published epistles,—such as its inventor, if fictitious, must have been. It may seem strange again, that Erasmus should find fault with the climate of Holland, to which in his younger days he appears to have been pleased to return frequently; but he says in a letter of 1521, that he does not love his country less because its climate does not agree with him. C. 676A. The epistle contains several Greek phrases,

* *Epistola quædam D. Erasmi Roterodami nunquam ante hac ædita rationem fere totius vitæ eius continens Epitaphia nonnulla in eundem, quorum cognitionem tibi ô lector relinquimus.* Gandavi, excudebat Jodocus Lambertus e regione domus senatoriæ, 1536.

which may seem out of place in a letter addressed to a person, who probably did not understand that language; but it may be assumed that it was mainly intended for a larger audience. In one form in which it was printed at an early date, the Greek words are replaced by Latin. This version is reproduced in C. 1527 (8).

There is a passage in the epistle which ought to be specially noticed in this connection. It is that in which the critical work of Erasmus upon the Epistles of Jerome and the New Testament is described. See p. 147. The language of this clause, consisting of five lines, is substantially repeated in the Epistle of Dorpius to Erasmus (Epistle 304, p. 169), written apparently in or about October, 1514; therefore, if the Epistle to Servatius, which is dated in the preceding July, be accepted as genuine, we may conclude that Dorpius had read it, and we may conjecture that copies of it in manuscript had been handed about among Erasmus's friends in the Low Countries. And as it must be admitted, that the way in which the passage is introduced into the letter of Dorpius, has very much the air of a quotation from Erasmus himself, this coincidence is rather favourable to the genuineness of the epistle. On the other hand, if we regard the epistle as fictitious, it may be supposed that Dorpius obtained from another letter of Erasmus, addressed to himself or some other correspondent at Louvain, the information which he repeats; and in this case it may easily be imagined, with what avidity the contriver of an imaginary Erasmian composition would seize upon a passage in the epistle of Dorpius, which appeared to contain a fragment from an unpublished letter of Erasmus.

It is not altogether without hesitation that I accept this epistle. It must certainly be admitted that, if not genuine, it is an extremely ingenious fabrication. During the seventy years that followed its first appearance, it was probably forgotten by most students, until it was again printed by Merula, who had received a copy of it (he does not say whether in manuscript or printed) from his friend Scriverius. *Vita Erasmi*, 1607, p. 15. It reappears in the collection of Scriverius published in 1615 and reprinted 1617, and is included in the prefatory part of the London edition of *Epistolæ Erasmi*, 1642, and in the Preface of the Leyden edition, 1703; and again in a slightly different form, as above mentioned, in the body of that work. C. 1527 (8).

EPISTLE 290. Epistola etc. Gandavi, 1536 ; Ep. Lond. Præf. x ; C. i. Præf. iii. 1527 (5).

Erasmus to Servatius.

Most gracious Father, your letter, after having been tossed about by a great many hands, has reached mine at last, now that I have left England.* It has indeed given me incredible pleasure inasmuch as it still breathes your old affection for me. I will answer it briefly, writing, as I do, on a journey, and will address myself to the main questions about which you write.

The opinion of men is so various (as each bird has his own song), that it is impossible to satisfy everybody. I at any rate am disposed to follow whatever course is best ; God is my witness. For if I gave way at one time to the emotions of youth, that has been corrected by age and experience. It was never my intention to change either my mode of life or my dress, not because I approved them, but to avoid scandal. For you know that it was by the pertinacity of my guardians and the importunate exhortations of others, that I was driven rather than persuaded to that kind of life ; and that I was afterwards kept to it by the reproaches of Cornelius Woerden,† as well as by a sort of shame, when I had found it was not at all suitable to me.

Different persons have different aptitudes. By my bodily constitution I was always impatient of fasting, and when once awake, I could not sleep again for some hours. My mind was absorbed in the pursuit of Letters, for which in

* Iam Angliam ingressum. I have read *egressum*, as in C. 1257, to make it consistent with the next clause and with the concluding paragraph and date of the letter.

† Woerdeni, *Ed. Ghent ; sim. Ed. Antwerp.* Werdeni Ep. Lond. Præf. Wertemi C. 1527. See vol. i. p. 43.

that profession there is no use; so that I do not doubt that, if my life had been free, I might have been counted, not only among the happy part of mankind, but even among the good. When, however, I saw that I was quite unfit for the kind of life, which I had undertaken, not voluntarily but by compulsion, nevertheless since it is regarded by the public opinion of our age as an act of impiety for a man to abandon the calling which he has once adopted, I had made up my mind to accept with patience this part of my unhappiness as well as others. For you know how unfortunate I have been in many respects, but I think this more grievous than anything else, that I was thrust into that kind of life from which I was most averse both in mind and body; in mind, because I shrank from ceremonies and was fond of liberty; in body, because even if I had liked the plan of life ever so much, my constitution was not adapted for such trials.

Some one will perhaps object, that I had my year of probation, as they call it, and was of ripe age. Ridiculous! to expect that a lad in his seventeenth year, especially one brought up in study, should know himself, a great thing even in an old man! Though indeed for my own part I did not approve the life from the first, much less after I had tasted it, but was ensnared by the reasons I have mentioned. I admit that a really good man will live well in any kind of life; neither do I deny that I was myself inclined to great vices, but without my nature being so corrupt that I might not * have been led aright, if I had had a suitable director, whose religion was Christianity and not a Jewish superstition. Meantime I have looked to see in what kind of life I should be least bad, and I think it is that which I have followed. I have lived among sober persons, and in literary pursuits, which have turned my thoughts from many vices. I have been able to pass my time with men who really

* quin . . . potueram: read, potuerim.

savour of Christ, and by whose conversation I have become a better man.

I do not boast of my books, which perhaps you despise. But many persons confess that they have been made, not only more learned, but better by reading them.* The love of money never affected me. Neither am I in the least degree moved by the vanity of fame. I was never a slave to pleasures, though I did not escape some stain. Drunkenness and intemperance I have always avoided. Whenever I have thought of rejoining your society, I have been reminded of the jealousy of many, the contempt of all, of conversations how cold, how silly, how utterly without any savour of Christ! of feasts how secular! in fact, of a whole system of life, *in which, if you take away what they call the ceremonies, I know not what is left that one would choose.*† And lastly I have thought of the weakness of my constitution, increased by age and sickness and labours, which would prevent my satisfying you, while I should kill myself. I have been for several years subject to the Stone, a serious and fatal disease. For some years I have drunk nothing but wine, and am obliged to be careful in the choice of it on account of my sickness. I cannot be indifferent as to food or climate. For this disease, frequently recurring, makes the strictest regimen necessary; and I know the Dutch climate, I know your mode of living, not to speak of morals. Therefore, if I had returned, I should only have brought trouble to you, and death to myself.

But you perhaps think it a great happiness to die among your brethren. That is a sort of persuasion which imposes not only upon you, but on almost all. We rest our religion upon place, dress, food, or some trifling ceremonies. We

* We may bear in mind, that the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* had been published more than ten years before the date of this letter. See vol. i. p. 361.

† The words printed in Italics, here and in some later passages in this letter, are Greek in the original.

think it is all over with one who changes a white coat for a black, wears a hat instead of a cowl, or occasionally shifts his locality. I venture to say, that *the greatest bane of Christian piety has arisen out of these so called religions*, although it was perhaps a pious zeal that first introduced them. The authority of Popes, often too easy and indulgent, has come to their aid. For what is *more foul or more impious* than these religions when they are lax? And if you turn to those that are commended and even most commended, I know not what image of Christ you will find, *unless you can so regard some cold Jewish ordinances.* It is on these they pride themselves, and on the strength of these they judge and despise others. How much more in accordance with the sentiment of Christ, to regard the whole world as one household, or as it were one convent, to think of all mankind as our brethren or fellow Canons, to hold the sacrament of baptism as the highest order of religion, and not to look where a man lives, but how well he lives.

You wish me to fix on a permanent residence; a course also suggested by advancing age.* And yet the wanderings of Solon and Pythagoras and Plato are commended. The Apostles were wanderers, especially Paul. St. Jerome, monk as he was, is now found at Rome, now in Syria, now in Africa or elsewhere, and in old age is still pursuing sacred Letters. I am not to be compared with him, I admit; but I have never changed my place, unless either forced by plague, or for the sake of study or health; and wherever I have lived (perhaps I shall speak too arrogantly of myself, but I will say the truth), I have been approved by those most approved and praised by those most praised. And there is no country, whether Spain, or Italy, or England, or Scotland,† which has

* Erasmus in July, 1514, was probably in his forty-eighth year. See vol. i. pp. 13, 14.

† This mention of an invitation to Scotland recalls the intimacy of Erasmus at Siena with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who lost his life at Flodden (9 Sept. 1513); and at Paris, in 1497, with Hector Boece. Vol. i. pp. 105, 147.

not invited me to its hospitality. If I am not approved by all, which I do not desire, I have found favour at any rate with the highest. At Rome there was not a Cardinal that did not receive me as a brother, without my soliciting any such distinction. This was especially the case with the Cardinal of St. George, the Cardinal of Bologna, Cardinal Grimani, the Cardinal of Nantes, and the present Pontiff, not to speak of Bishops, Archdeacons and men of learning. And this honour was not rendered to wealth, which even now I do not possess and do not desire; nor to any overtures of mine, from which I have been always most averse, but only to Letters, which however derided by our countrymen, are worshipped by the Italians. In England there is not a bishop who is not pleased to receive my greeting, or who would not welcome me as a guest, or as a member of his household. The King himself shortly before his father's death, when I was in Italy, wrote to me a most loving letter with his own hand; * he often speaks of me now with as much respect and affection as any one could possibly do, and whenever I wait upon him, he receives me with the greatest kindness, and regards me with such loving looks, that you may easily see that his sentiments are no less favourable than his words. The Queen has tried to get me to be her preceptor; † and everybody knows that, if I cared to live even a few months at Court, I might heap up as many benefices as I liked. But I allow nothing to interfere with my leisure and studious labours.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and Chancellor of the kingdom, a good and learned man, treats me with as much kindness as if he were my father ‡

* See vol. i p. 423.

† I do not remember any mention elsewhere of Queen Katherine having wished to have instruction from Erasmus. It may be observed this paragraph is expressed, as if written in England. See note in the next page.

‡ ut si pater essem [i.e. esset] aut frater, non posset amantius. Warham was over sixty years of age, Erasmus in his forty-eighth year.

or my brother; and that you may understand how sincerely this is meant, he gave me a benefice of about a hundred nobles, which he afterwards, by my wish and on my resignation of the cure, changed to a pension of a hundred crowns. Beside this, he has given me in presents four hundred nobles during these few years, and that without any asking on my part. On one day he gave me a hundred and fifty nobles. From other bishops I have received above a hundred nobles, which have been offered to me with spontaneous liberality. Lord Mountjoy, a baron of this realm and formerly my pupil, gives me yearly a pension of a hundred crowns.* And the Bishop of Lincoln, who is now all powerful with the King, makes magnificent promises.

There are two Universities here,† at Oxford and Cambridge, both of which seek to have me. For I spent several months at Cambridge teaching Greek and Divinity, but without remuneration,‡ and so I have resolved always to do. There are colleges, in which there is so much religion and such a well regulated mode of living, that, if you saw it, you would think less of any monastic rule. At London there is Dr. John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, a man who, uniting the highest learning with admirable piety, exerts a great and general influence. It is well known that he has so much affection for me, that there is no one whose society he prefers. I say nothing of a host of other personages, not wishing to annoy you by boasting or by loquacity.

I will now say something about my books. I think you

* I do not remember any mention elsewhere of an annual pension of a specified amount, received from lord Mountjoy.

† Sunt hic duae universitates. These words might seem to show that the letter was partly composed before leaving England, unless Calais and its dependencies are treated as part of the ruling country. It is said above, that the last letter of Servatius had come to hand at Hammes (see p. 141), where this letter, if not written, was apparently completed. See pp. 141, 151.

‡ sed gratis. See an observation on this statement, p. 139.

have read the *Enchiridion*, by which not a few confess themselves to have been inflamed to a love of piety. I claim no merit of my own, but rejoice with Christ, if by his gift through my means any good has been done. I do not know whether you have seen the Book of Adages, as it has been printed by Aldus. It is not a theological work, but one that is useful for every branch of learning, and cost me incalculable nights of toil. I have published a book on Copiousness of matter and language, which I dedicated to my friend Colet, a useful work for persons preparing to preach, though such studies are scorned by those who despise all good Letters. During the last two years, beside other employments,† I have corrected the Epistles of Jerome, distinguishing with dagger-marks the spurious additions, and illustrating the obscure passages with notes. I have also corrected the New Testament from the collation of ancient Greek manuscripts, and annotated more than a thousand places, not without profit to theologians.† I have begun a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, which I shall finish, when I have published what I have already mentioned. For I have resolved to give up my life to Sacred Literature. These are the things to which I devote my hours of leisure and of work; persons of consideration say that I have a capacity for them which others have not; for your kind of life I have no capacity. I have associated with many grave and learned persons, both here* and in Italy and France, and have never found any who advised me to return to you, or considered that to be the better course. Even your own predecessor, Nicolas Werner ‡ of happy memory, was wont to dissuade me from doing so,

†† The words included between the 'dagger-marks' in the text are repeated in the Epistle of Dorpius, Epistle 304. See pp. 140, 168, 169.

* *hic*, in England, see note, p. 146.

‡ Wercerus *ed. Ghent*, Vuercerus *ed. Antwerp*, Wittenherus C. See vol. i. pp. 74, 117.

advising me rather to attach myself to some bishop, and adding, that he knew both my disposition and the character of his poor brethren ;* these were the words he used in the vernacular tongue. In the condition of life in which I am now, I see what to avoid ; but what I should rather follow, I do not see.

It now remains for me to satisfy you about my dress. Having formerly, used the ordinary Canons' dress, when I was at Louvain, I obtained leave from the Bishop of Utrecht to wear, according to the Paris fashion, a linen scapular instead of the entire linen robe, and a black cassock instead of the black cloak. When I went to Italy and saw the Canons, wherever I travelled, wearing a great black gown with the scapular, I then, in order not to give offence by a variety of dress, began to wear a similar costume. Afterwards a plague occurred at Bologna, where those who attend on the sick wear a white linen scarf hanging from the shoulders, and have to avoid meeting other people. Consequently one day, when I was going to see a learned friend, some rude fellows drew their swords with the intention of attacking me, and would have done so, if a lady had not warned them that I was an ecclesiastic. And another day, when I was going to the Treasurer's sons,† I was met on both sides by people with sticks, and most grievous cries. Accordingly under good advice, I put my scapular away, and obtained permission from Julius II. to wear the religious habit or not as I might think fit, provided I retained the clerical dress,‡ and by his letters he pardoned any error

* fraterculorum suorum mores.

† In telling this incident in the Epistle to Grunnius, Erasmus uses the expression: visebat quosdam sodales conterraneos. If we accept this commentary, we may perhaps conclude, that the Treasurer was not an Italian, but a statesman of the Netherlands, whose sons were then at Florence.

‡ The same Indulgence was granted to Erasmus by the Bull of Pope Leo X. set out in full by Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 26, where no mention is made of the earlier Indulgence of Julius; which however, as well as that of Leo, is mentioned

before committed in that respect. Accordingly while I was in Italy, I stuck to the clerical dress, not to create a scandal by making a change.

When I returned to England, I intended to use my accustomed habit; and having sent for a friend of the highest reputation both for life and learning, I showed him the dress I meant to wear, and asked him, whether it would be right in England. He said yes, and I went out in it, but was warned forthwith by other friends, that that dress could not be tolerated in England, and I had better put it out of sight. I did so; and as it could not be hidden without giving birth to scandal if found, I put it away in a chest, and up to this time have availed myself of the licence formerly given me by the Pope. The Pontifical laws excommunicate any one who throws aside the religious habit in order to mix more freely among secular persons. In my case it was put away in Italy by compulsion, to save me from being killed; and afterwards in England, because it was not tolerated there, when I should have much preferred to wear it. To resume it afresh now would beget more scandal, than was created by the original change.

I have explained to you the whole scheme of my life, and what my ideas are. I am quite ready to change even this mode of life, if I see anything better. But I do not see what I can do in Holland. I know I shall not find either the climate or the food agree with me; and I shall draw all eyes upon me. I shall return old and grey to the place I left when young; I shall return an invalid. I shall be exposed to the contempt of the lowest people after being accustomed to be honoured by the greatest. I shall exchange my studies for drinking parties. And whereas

by Beatus Rhenanus in his life of Erasmus, prefixed to the *Opera Erasmi*, published by Froben. C. i. Præf. The bull of Julius is also mentioned in the epistle to Grunnius. C. 1829 E.

you promise your assistance in finding me a place where I may live, as you say, with a good income, I cannot think what that can be, unless you would quarter me upon some convent of nuns, where I should be a servant to women, after having declined to serve Archbishops and Kings. I do not stick about income, having no anxiety to be rich, but only to have as much fortune as is needed for my health and literary leisure, so that I may not be a burden to anyone. As to these matters I should like to talk with you in person, for one cannot do so by letter either in comfort or safety. Yours, though sent by the surest messengers, has gone so far astray, that unless I had happened to come to this castle, I should never have seen it, and I received it after it had already been read by many others. Please therefore do not write any secret matter, unless you know where I am, and have a very sure messenger. I am now on my way to Germany, that is to Basel, for the purpose of publishing my lucubrations; and in the winter I may perhaps be at Rome. On my way back I will arrange for our having an interview somewhere; but now the summer is almost gone, and the journey before me is long.

I had heard of the death of William and Francis and Andrew from Rasbond * and his wife. Give my salutations to Master Henry and all the others who are living with you, towards whom I do not fail in due regard, for I attribute those former tragedies to some mistake, or if you please, to my destiny. I received your letter, written on the third day after Easter, on the 7th of July. I beg you will not omit in your prayers to commend my health to Christ. If I were sure that He would be better served by my returning to your society, I would start on my journey this very day.

* This name somewhat resembles that of the correspondent of Epistle 15. I cannot decide whether they ought to be the same, or if so, which letter is correct. Neither person is otherwise known, and neither name is found in the Calendar of Saints.

Farewell, my once sweetest companion, and now my reverend Father.

From the Castle of Hammes by Calais, the 8th of July, [1514].*

The following letter, evidently written at Ghent, a few days after the date of Epistles 289 and 290, has a postscript added at Basel more than a month later. Erasmus gives no particulars of his journey after leaving the Low Countries; but we know by a note on the title-page of an edition of the *De Ratione Studii*, published in this year by Matthias Schürer, the printer of Strasburg, that the author revised this work during a short stay in that city in August, 1514.† In the following description of the commencement of the journey, the first stage takes us to the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer; the second to Ghent.

EPISTLE 291. Farrago, 200; Ep. vii. 46; C. 190 (182).

Erasmus to William lord Mountjoy.

Most excellent Mæcenas, I stayed with the Abbot two days, and we had a merry time. He did not forget to make me a present on my departure, and added many kind promises. In fact everything was going on happily, when all of a sudden Fortune gave me a lesson not to trust to any current of events. I had scarcely left an inn about half-way between Rousselaere and Ghent, when my horse shied at some linen spread on the ground. I was leaning forward to say something to the groom, when the horse took fright a second time, and swerving in the other direction, strained the lower part of my spine. The pain was so severe that I could not help screaming aloud. I tried to dismount, but

* Postridie nonas Julias. *Epistola quædam* etc. 1536. 9 Julii. C.

† *De Ratione Studii* etc. *ex recognitione autoris dum mense Augusto Argentinæ degeret*, Anno M.D.XIIII. I am indebted for this title, as for many more important favours, to my friend, Mr. P. S. Allen.

could not. My servant took me in his arms, and set me on the ground. I was in the open country with no places of entertainment near, except some that were very cold and rough, and six good miles away from Ghent. I felt the pain become less severe as I walked, but the journey was longer than one could have made on foot, even if sound. Imagine my state of mind. I made a vow to St. Paul, that I would complete my Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, if I escaped this danger. Soon after, when I was beginning to despair, I was forced to try whether I could mount my horse, and succeeded better than I had hoped. I went on at a foot pace and found I could bear it. I then told the servant to go on faster, and bore that too, though not without torture. Arrived at Ghent, I dismounted and went into a room, where the pain, after rest, betrayed itself in its full intensity. I could not stand alone nor sit, and when I lay down, could not move in the least. I sent for a doctor and an apothecary, and was altogether in such a condition that I could think of nothing but death. When I had occasion to move in the morning, I found I could stand, move and sit without assistance, and offered my thanks to God and St. Paul; though I still feel the mischief, especially if I turn my body. I have therefore been staying a few days at Ghent, detained by the hospitality of my friends, and not feeling quite secure about the pain.

I have met here the President of Flanders, a person most learned in every kind of Literature, and two members of the Council, Antonius Clava and Gulielmus Wala. Cæsar* and some others I knew before. I shall now go on to Antwerp, if my health permits; and wherever I am, will let you know about my health. Farewell.

[Ghent, July, 1514.]

P.S.—I called upon the Prince of Veer and his mother at

* Robert Cæsar, see Epistle 175; vol. i. p. 360.

Bergen, but found him uneasy ; for his wife was ill after her confinement, and he was receiving bad news from Zealand. I saluted him in your name, and reminded him of the favour you had shown to his subjects.

I came to Basel after Assumption-day (August 15).* Germany has received me with a degree of honour that makes me almost ashamed. Surrounded now by German currents, I devote myself to the publishing of my trifles, and am as much concerned in this business as the Emperor in his attack on Venice. I shall hasten my return as much as I am allowed.

Basel, 29 August,† [1514].

In the above Epistle Erasmus carries his detailed itinerary as far as Ghent, and declares his intention of proceeding to Antwerp, whither he had already sent from London the bulk of his possessions. See Epistle 288. The visit to Bergen, mentioned in the postscript, was probably made from Antwerp, Bergen being situated at the mouth of the Scheldt. Prince Adolf of Veer, whom he had known as a boy (Epistle 87), was now a man of about four and twenty, and had married a lady of the family of Bergen, daughter of John, the brother and heir apparent of the Bishop of Cambrai. We learn from Erasmus's letter, that his old patroness, the lady of Veer, was still living. See vol. i. pp. 75, 92.

After leaving Antwerp at the end of July, Erasmus had stayed a day at Louvain. At this place, according to Epistle 304, almost the only person he saw was Dorpius, in whose hands he left a corrected copy of the so-called *Disticha Moralia Catonis*, to which he prefixed a dedicatory epistle to John Nevius, the Principal of the Lilian College in that place, dated at Louvain, the 1st of August, 1514, EPISTLE 292. This epistle, which is not in the larger collections, has been reprinted by Reich, *Erasmus-Studien*, p. 252. The little book of moral maxims

* Post Annunciationis. *Farrago* ; *sim. Opus Epist. Ed. London* and *C.* Having regard to the date of the letter, I have ventured to read, Assumptionis.

† Basileæ. iii. Cal. Septēb. *Farrago*. Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto, *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

with short comments by Erasmus for which it was written, was printed in the same year by Thierry Martens under the superintendence of Dorpius, and was frequently reproduced by the Press. The printer himself missed seeing Erasmus, in consequence of his anxiety to meet him, having gone to Antwerp for that purpose. Epistle 308.

From Louvain Erasmus continued his journey to Switzerland. His shortest route was probably that which crossed the Meuse at Maestricht, and so reached the Rhine valley at Cologne. But on this occasion he went a little aside to visit Andrew Hochstraten at Liège. The discontented note (without date of day), which he left at Hochstraten's house, when he found that his friend was away, has been preserved. Its proximate date is shown by a letter of Hochstraten to Erasmus written in Jan. 1516, in which this visit is mentioned as having taken place more than a year before. Epistle 368.

EPISTLE 293. Epist. ad div. p. 473; Ep. xii. 8; C. 290 (296).

Erasmus to Andrew Hochstraten.

I have come a little out of my way to see an old friend and enjoy the sight of so famous a city. But by some ill luck of my own I am disappointed in both objects. You are away, and the town has pleased me so much that I never left a place with more satisfaction. Farewell.

Liège, [Aug. 1514].*

There is no evidence that Erasmus stayed at Cologne on this journey. At Mayence he obtained a copy of the *Oculare Speculum* of Reuchlin, which he had not before seen, and of other documents relating to the controversy in which that theologian was involved. See Epistle 294. At the same place he met for the first time Ulrich von Hutten, a young German gentleman of dissipated habits, but distinguished for his wit and learning, who took a keen interest in the Reuchlin question, and was the principal author of the satirical work entitled *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, which arose out of that controversy, and was first printed in 1515.

* Leodii, Anno M.D.XVII. *Epist. ad div.*

At Strasburg Erasmus was welcomed by a literary circle, at the head of which was James Wimpfling of Schlettstadt, a veteran scholar, who had some years before gone through a contest with the opponents of learning, somewhat similar to that in which Reuchlin was now engaged. During his short stay in this city Erasmus found time to read over his treatise *De Ratione Studii*, printed by Matthias Schürer two years before, the corrected copy of which he left in the hands of the same printer, by whom it was immediately committed to the press.

At Schlettstadt the authorities of the place received him with a hospitality which he acknowledged by an elegiac poem composed in honour of the town, *Encomium Selestadii*,—

> Hæc memor hospitii tibi carmina panxit Erasmus
> Haud lepida at grata qualiacunque cheli.

* * * *

Erasmi *Opera*, i. 1223.

In the course of this journey, probably at Strasburg (see Epistle 295), Erasmus made his first acquaintance with Beatus Rhenanus (Bild von Rheinau), a native of Schlettstadt, whom on his arrival at Basel he found ready to welcome him there, and who became from this time the most attached and useful of his literary associates.

From Schlettstadt Erasmus was accompanied to Basel by Ioannes Sapidus, who remained for some weeks to assist in the literary work there in progress. The story of the reception of Erasmus at Basel is told in Epistle 298.

CHAPTER XXIV.

First sojourn of Erasmus at Basel. Publication of the book de Copia, *of the* Parabolæ sive Similia, *of the* Enarratio Psalmi Primi *and of the* Senecæ Opera. *Correspondence with Reuchlin, Wimpfling, Zasius and Pirckheimer. Epistle of Dorpius upon the proposed publication of the New Testament. August,* 1514, *to March,* 1515. *Epistles* 294 *to* 316.

THE arrival of Erasmus at Basel took place soon after the middle of August, 1514. This is shown by the postscript added to Epistle 291, and dated at Basel on the 29th of that month.

The following answer to Epistle 285 (which, however, the writer says he has answered before) is without date, but appears by the last sentence to have been written before the end of August.

EPISTLE 294. Illust. vir. epist. p. iii^{b} 4^{a}; Geiger, Reuchlin, 224.

Erasmus to Reuchlin.

While I was staying in England, I received your letter, with the Bishop of Spires' judgment of acquittal, which I communicated to several learned friends, of whom there is none that fails to respect your fertile and happy genius. They laughed; and urgently demanded to see the condemned book, concluding that it was something splendid from the character of its opponents. I refer especially to the Bishop of Rochester, a man of the highest integrity and a consummate theologian, and John Colet, dean of

St. Paul's in London. For my own part I had some doubt, lest you should have written something incautiously, seeing that the Bishop's sentence was expressed timidly and acquitted you of *open* heresy, until I obtained the book at Mayence and read those heretical, irreverent and impious articles of yours; and then I could not suppress a laugh. But when I had read that condemnation* so charmingly written, it was to me quite a sufficient apology to justify your acquittal; and I did wish most heartily that it might come into the hands of all the learned! When again I read your Apology composed with so much spirit and eloquence, and such an exuberance of learning, I seemed to myself to be listening not to a culprit making his defence, but to a conqueror celebrating his triumph. One thing I wanted, for I will speak in a plain and friendly way. I should have liked you to be more sparing of digressions founded on common places, and moreover to have abstained from downright invective. But if the former is a fault, it is the fault of a person overflowing with literary talent and erudition; and in the other matter it is hard to fix a limit to the soreness of another. You will give pleasure to all the learned, if you will take the trouble to send the book to England, either to John, Bishop of Rochester, or to Colet Dean of St. Paul's. I will also send my copy, if I can, though I have but one.

We have written annotations on the entire New Testament. It is accordingly our intention to print the New Testament in Greek with our Notes added. I am told that you have a very accurate copy; if you will lend it to John Froben, you will earn the gratitude not only of him and me, but also of all students. The manuscript shall return to you whole and uninjured. Farewell and write.

* The denunciation of Reuchlin by James Hochstraten, the Inquisitor of Cologne.

I did answer your letter which I received in England, but whether my answer has been delivered, I do not know ; I shall look for your reply. Again farewell, sole glory and incomparable ornament of all Germany. I was very desirous of having some talk with you, but as far as I see, shall not be able to do so. For in the middle of September I am going on to Italy, unless something fresh occurs meantime.

Again and again farewell.

[Basel, August, 1514].*

Epistle 295, written by James Wimpfling in the name of the Literary Society of Strasburg, was printed, with Erasmus's reply (Epistle 298), by Matthias Schürer at Strasburg before the close of the year, at the end of a new edition of the *Copia* of Erasmus revised by the author. The two Epistles were also published as a separate pamphlet. They are not found in any of the Collections of Epistles, nor in the Leyden *Opera Erasmi ;* but were reprinted by Jortin in the Appendix to his work on Erasmus.

Epistle 295. Copia, Strasburg, 1514 ; Jortin, ii. 456.

James Wimpfling to Erasmus.

An animal that is unfit for anything else is often loaded with baggage. This may account for the Literary Society of Strasburg having charged an incapable veteran like me with the duty of conveying a greeting to you in the name of them all, of expressing our wish for your welfare, and of begging you to send us a letter before long to assure us of your safety. We hope that you have been courteously received by the School of Basel, and kindly cherished among the learned, as the most learned of all. We are confident that in that philosophical conclave Beatus Rhenanus, who

* No date in *Illustrium virorum Epistolæ.*

already loves, honours and reveres you, will spare no pains to assure your comfort. Our whole Literary Society commends itself to you,—Sebastian Brandt, James Sturm, Thomas Rapp, Thomas Aucuparius, Matthias Schürer, John Rudolfing, Stephen Tieler, John Guida, Peter Heldung, Jerome Gebuiller, John Ruser, Otomar, as well as others whose names do not occur to me, and not least heartily myself. Farewell.

Strasburg, 1 September, 1514.*

Among the scholars of Upper Germany to whom the arrival of Erasmus was a matter of lively interest was Udalricus Zasius, an elderly professor of Law at the University of Freiburg in Bresgau, with whom Erasmus became personally intimate some years later, when he went to reside in that city. At this time they do not appear to have met, but Zasius, soon after Erasmus's arrival at Basel, wrote him two letters dated the 7th and 21st of September 1514,—EPISTLES 296, 297. Deventer MS.; C. 1530, 1531 (9, 10),—adopting in both a tone of exaggerated deference, upon which Erasmus rallied him in his reply. Epistle 299.

Epistle 298 is the answer of Erasmus to the letter of welcome received through James Wimpfling from the Literary Society of Strasburg, Epistle 295. In the part of the letter here omitted Erasmus goes through the names of the members of the Society as they are set out in Epistle 295, with a compliment for each.

EPISTLE 298. Copia, Strasburg, 1514; Jortin, ii. 457.

Erasmus to Wimpfling.

What say you, my Wimpfling? Do you call it *bovi clitellas*, putting the pack-saddle on the oxe, when you are employed to write to us? It seems to me to be more like the Greek proverb, *τὸν ἵππον εἰς πεδίον*, leading the courser to the level ground. For on whose shoulders would this

* Ex Argentorato, prima Septembris. M.D.XIIII. *Copia*, Strasburg, 1514.

burden more fitly rest, or to whom could your Strasburg Society, for so you call it,—a Society not only most learned but most courteous,—delegate this office more fitly than to Wimpfling, who is at the same time the chief man of letters in his country, and the high priest of every humanity? I most earnestly beg you to return in my name the greeting of that most cultivated Society, that College of all the Muses and Graces. * * *

John Sapidus, your pupil in Letters, who resembles you also in character, and who respects and loves you as a father, has come with us as far as Basel. I had warned him not to betray me there, as I liked my acquaintance to be few, but choice. Accordingly I met at first only those I most wanted: Beatus Rhenanus, with whose wise modesty and acute literary judgment I am delighted, and whose daily companionship is most agreeable to me: Gerard Listrius, a skilful physician, with an admirable knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew Literature, and moreover a natural turn to love me: and Bruno Amerbach, singularly learned, and, like Listrius, master of three tongues. I delivered to John Froben a letter from Erasmus, adding that he was my intimate friend, and had entrusted me with the business of publishing his Lucubrations, so that whatever I did would stand good as done by Erasmus himself. I added at last, that I was so like him that whoever saw me saw Erasmus. He then broke into a laugh, as he detected the hoax. His father in law paid our bill at the Inn, and transferred us with our horses and baggage, to his own residence.

Basel, 21 September, 1514.*

With reference to the new circle of friends, into which Erasmus was now thrown, it may be noted, that John Froben, born about 1460, came to Basel as a young man to assist in the printing office of John Amerbach, and afterwards set up an independent press in the same

* Basileæ, undecimo Calendas Octobris M.D.XIIII. *Copia*, Strasburg, 1514.

town, which was at a later time united with that of Amerbach. His first known book is a Latin Bible printed in a fine black-letter type, 1491. His wife, Gertrude, was daughter of Wolfgang Lachner, a burgess of Basel, who became the host of Erasmus. John Amerbach had gained great credit by his edition of the works of St. Augustine, 1506, the first great work printed in 'Roman' type on this side of the Alps. Before his death, which occurred on the 25th of December, 1513, he was preparing to publish an edition of the entire works of St. Jerome, about which he had long been in correspondence with Reuchlin (Geiger, *Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, 112, 121, 128, 130, 144, 176; 27 June, 1509—31 March, 1512). He left three sons, Bruno, Basil and Boniface. The two elder sons resolved to carry out their father's design of producing a good edition of Jerome, in which work they were seconded by Beatus Rhenanus and other ardent scholars, and had derived much assistance from Joannes Cono (Johann Kühn) a learned friar, who was recommended at Basel by Reuchlin. Geiger, *Reuchlin*, 60, 129. See p. 202, and the narrative of Beatus in our first volume, p. 34.* The third son, Boniface Amerbach, appears to have been a student of law at Freiburg. See pp. 163, 172, and Epistle 394.

Epistle 299 was written by Erasmus upon the receipt of the second letter of Zasius (Epistle 297) in which, not having received an answer to his first, he apologized for having taken the liberty of writing.

Epistle 299. Farrago, p. 387; Ep. xii. 7; C. 1531 (17).

Erasmus to Zasius.

Your singular erudition, united with equal eloquence, has become known to me through two most learned and no less eloquent friends, Beatus Rhenanus and Joannes Gallinarius. Your rare humour I see in your letter. For after in one most polished letter a person like yourself, loaded with every commendation of virtue, has deigned to invite us, who are nothing, to your friendship, you presently in another letter

* In the passage here referred to, near the bottom of the page, the name John (Amerbach) should be Bruno. John was the name of the father.

deprecate the charge of presumption, because forsooth so small a person has written to so great a personage !

To have done with these affectations, with which in Italy the learned used to please themselves, and to deal as a German with a German in plain native truthfulness, I take my measure by my own foot, as the saying is, and know how scanty is my store ; so far am I from acknowledging the praises you attribute to me. For the rest I congratulate our Germany, which has long flourished in military renown, but is now made more illustrious by so many persons excelling in every kind of literature ; a glory, than which none is truer or more abiding. * * * Nothing could occur to me more gratifying or more honourable, than to be admitted into the number of your friends, and I should not have allowed you to take the initiative, if I were not so fixed and bound to this treadmill that I have scarcely leisure to take my meals.

My book of Adages is being so enriched, that it may be thought another work. Jerome is in hand, and is soon to be printed with our annotations. The New Testament is being prepared, corrected, and illustrated with our scholia. A revised edition of the *Copia* is being brought out, and a book on Similes is also to be published.† My translations from Plutarch are already printed ; and I am preparing with great pains an emended edition of Seneca Annæus. When you consider that any one of these tasks is enough to require a whole man, and that not an Erasmus, but a man of adamant, you may guess how completely I am without a vacant moment. You must therefore pardon me, first for sending so hasty a reply to your polished letter, a plain instance of an Homeric exchange of bronze for gold ; and also if I shall in future seem more chary of my letters than you may wish.

† The two dedicatory epistles of the *Copia* and of the *Parabolæ sive Similia* are both dated on the Ides of October (15 Oct.) 1514. See Epistles 302, 303. This confirms the date of the present letter.

As soon as I have got myself a little clear of these labours, I shall be happy to encounter my Zasius in regular volumes.

I invoke the blessing of the Muses on your exertions in illustrating the Imperial Law. You know, I suppose, that Budé of Paris has attempted something of the same kind; and Cuthbert Tunstall, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chancellor, a person well versed in both literatures, has numberless passages annotated. As for your mentioning me in your Commentaries, and so preparing to make me immortal, it is very gratifying to be praised by one who is of all men most praised; but I do beseech one thing of you, and that is not to load Erasmus in future with such invidious titles, for fear of furnishing scoffers with a handle for ridicule. For who would not laugh to hear Erasmus called great, when he is very small in every point of view, and fortunate moreover, when he has nothing to thank Fortune for?

Pray do me the favour to greet in my name Boniface, a youth both modest and learned. Gerardus Listrius returns your greeting. As he is heartily attached to you, so he is really worthy of the love you bestow on him in return. Farewell.

Basel, 23 Sept. 1514.*

On the 4th of October, 1514, Gregory, Prior of the Carthusian Convent at Freiburg, writes to Erasmus,—EPISTLE 300, C. 1532 (12)—expressing his satisfaction, that the task of editing Jerome, upon which the writer had himself been engaged, had fallen into such practised and able hands.

Zasius, in replying to Epistle 299, appears to find it difficult to abstain from 'invidious titles.' His letter, a part of which is here given, is mainly interesting as shewing the enthusiastic admiration, with which Erasmus was received by the learned of Upper Germany.

* Basileæ. nono Calendas Octob M.D.XIIII. *Farrago. Sim. Opus Epistolarum.*

Epistle 301. Epistolæ aliquot, Louvain, 1516; Ep. ii. 15; C. 138 (161).

Zasius to Erasmus.

Great Roterodamus, Varro of our age, I have this moment fallen in with the present messenger, whom I will not permit to go without a letter from me, although, as I have just returned from delivering my Lecture on Civil Law, Bartholus and Baldus and the other un-latin authors of that class are resounding in my ears. If it is a blessing to be associated with men of the greatest learning, you have certainly made me blessed by your most elegant letter, which offers so much material, both for gratification and for reply, that I think another time and place will be required for this. I must now tell you,—that honeyed epistle of yours is passed round our whole University, and is sought for by all our scholars, who admire the inspiration of Roterodamus, and the fire which he has brought down from heaven; while Zasius is of great account, and is pointed at as the man, to whom Roterodamus,—to whom the Cicero of Germany and of our age, has written in such friendly terms. * * * *

Do not answer this, fatigued as you are with such important business. I shall be satisfied, if you only take the trouble to cast your eyes on the nonsense I write.

Freiburg, 11 Oct. 1514.†

The following epistle, addressed to Matthias Schürer, the printer of Strasburg, served as a Preface to a new edition of the *Copia*, of which mention has been already made, p. 162. The letter begins with an elaborate eulogy of the printer. The last clause expresses the interest of the writer in a new edition of the works of Rodolphus Agricola, apparently expected from Schürer's press, to which Erasmus may possibly have contributed. See vol. i. p. 379.

† Ex Friburgo quinto idus octobris Anno. M.D.XIIII. *Epistolæ aliquot.*

EPISTLE 302. Copia, Strasburg, 1514; Ep. xxviii. 27; C. 1533 (13).

Erasmus to Matthias Schürer.

* * * * *

We therefore send you our *Copia*, carefully revised and corrected by ourselves, so that this work, conceived in England and published in some sort of fashion at Paris, may now as it were shed its skin, and under happier auspices, in your most prosperous city of Strasburg, go out clean and bright into the hands of men. If only it shall appear not unworthy of your printing, it will be the more commended to all lovers of good letters by issuing from the Schurerian press.

We have added a book on Similes, not hitherto published, but coming to you, as they say, straight from the anvil.

We have long been expecting the lucubrations of Rodolphus Agricola, a truly divine man. Whenever I read anything that he wrote, I always in my own mind adore and venerate that sacred and heavenly intellect. Farewell.

Basel, 15 Oct. 1514.*

The Treatise entitled *Parabolæ sive Similia*, placed in Schürer's hands for publication with the *Copia*, was preceded by a Prefatory dedication, dated on the same day as the last, and addressed to Peter Gillis. The following passage illustrates Erasmus's rhetorical teaching.

EPISTLE 303. Parabolæ, Strasburg, 1514; Ep. xxix. 17; C. i. 559.

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

* * * * *

When I was lately reading over Aristotle, Pliny and Plutarch for the purpose of enriching my Chiliads of Adages, and was purging Annæus Seneca of the errors

* Basileæ. Anno M.D.XIIII. ad Idus Octobris. *Copia*, Strasburg, 1514.

by which he was almost extinguished, I noted in passing these Similes, which I thought might be no ungrateful present for you. I divined this, because I had observed that you have a natural taste for elegance of language, and I was convinced, that not merely the brilliancy, but almost the whole dignity of speech proceeds from Metaphors. For the Parable, which Cicero calls *collocatio*, is nothing but an expanded metaphor. * * *

It is by this figure that Adages are flavoured ; it is to this that Apologues owe their charm ; by this Apophthegms are commended ; and by the addition of this the value of a sentence is doubled, so that Solomon preferred no other title, to commend his oracles, to that of Parables.† * * *

It would not be improper to adjoin this treatise as a supplement to the Adages ; or if you prefer it, to the commentary on Copiousness. It has a close affinity with both those subjects, and contributes greatly to the latter.

Your Epithalamium‡ would have been completed and published, but for my servant having, without my knowledge, left the copy at Louvain. Farewell.

Basel, 15 Oct. 1514.§

During the autumn of 1514, the laboured Remonstrance of Dorpius (EPISTLE 304),—printed at Louvain with the *Enarratio in primum Psalmum*, Oct. 1515 ; Jortin, ii. 336,—which caused some displeasure to Erasmus, and gave more offence to his friends, Tunstall and More, was composed. We have seen (p. 153) that the correspondents had met on intimate terms at Louvain, where Erasmus communicated to his younger friend his literary plans. Among them was the printing of the Greek text of the New Testament, with a new Latin version ; and of a

† In Jerome's Preface to the Books of Solomon he observes that the first of them was called in Hebrew *Masloth*, or Parables, but in the Vulgate edition Proverbs. *Opera Hieronymi*, ed. Vallarsii, vol. x. p. 1295.

‡ The Epithalamium has been placed among the Colloquies, C i. 748.

§ Basileæ. Anno a Christo nato millesimo quingentesimo decimo quarto. Idibus Octobris. *Parabolæ*, Strasburg, 1514.

commentary which filled another volume. There can be no doubt, that this publication was one of the turning points in the religious revolution which was the principal event of the sixteenth century; and it is important to observe that its effect was anticipated and deprecated by the theological school of Louvain. Dorpius appears to have talked the matter over with his colleagues. We may well imagine the horror of many of them. The author of the *Encomium Moriæ*, who had shewn so little respect for religious persons in his satire, was now proceeding to attack Religion itself in the received Sacred Text, upon which the whole fabric of Christian dogma and the very science of Theology was based. Dorpius, if he had doubted a little when in the company of his friend, was now convinced that he was in danger of committing for the second time a very grievous mistake. He therefore determined to make an appeal to Erasmus to leave the New Testament alone. To this expostulation he prefixed some observations on the *Moria*. It was this part of his Epistle, which provoked a long reply from Thomas More, dated 21 Oct. [1515], Epistle 350. The remonstrance of Dorpius is not conceived in a hostile spirit, and its friendly and loyal tone was appreciated by Erasmus, who jealous and suspicious as he was by nature, maintained throughout, amid the resentment of his friends, that there was no malice in the mind of Dorpius himself. The one circumstance of which he had most reason to complain was, that before the Epistle had been submitted to him at Basel, copies of it appear to have circulated among some of his friends in Brabant. As to the date of the Epistle of Dorpius we have the following indications to guide us. It was written when the short intercourse between the correspondents which took place at Louvain at the end of July and beginning of August, 1514, was still recent (nuper cum hic esses); on the other hand it had not reached Erasmus before he left Basel in the following year, and was first seen by him in the Netherlands in March, 1515. See Epistle 317, p. 182. Its most probable date appears to be in or about the month of October, 1514.

I do not propose to translate the arguments of Dorpius on either of the two main subjects of the Epistle. The case against the Moria may be easily imagined. It was a wide-sweeping satire, in which sacred things and sacred persons had not been spared; what was done could not be undone; but in the writer's opinion the mischief might be alleviated, if the eloquent author would undertake the other side of the argument, and compose, in answer to Folly, a defence of Wisdom, *Sapientiæ apologiam*. Of the part of the Epistle relating to

the New Testament, I translate only the opening clause and a few sentences, to show the line followed by the writer. One observation will occur to the reader,—that the concluding paragraph of the Epistle indicates, that as originally written, it was not a pamphlet, but a private letter. The communication respecting the Abbot of Egmund (p. 170) was not addressed to the public; and if the letter was shown to friends in Brabant (see p. 182) before it was received by Erasmus, it was doubtless imparted only 'in strict confidence.' It appears however from a later letter of More (Epistle 397), that after the receipt of the reply of Erasmus (Epistle 317) Dorpius had his own Epistle printed together with the reply. This was probably the volume we have, in which the correspondence between Erasmus and Dorpius is preceded by Erasmus's commentary on the Psalm, *Beatus vir*. It has been already observed, that the clause, with which the writer introduces the subject of the New Testament (p. 169), and which has the air of a quotation from some earlier statement of Erasmus, is found in the Epistle to Servatius. See pp. 140, 147.

EPISTLE 304. Enarratio Psalmi primi, Louvain, 1515; Jortin, Erasmus, ii. 336.

Martinus Dorpius to Erasmus.

Pray do not think, my Erasmus, that of all your friends, of whom your erudition and amiable character insures you so many dispersed through every part of Christendom, there is any one more sincerely attached to you than I am. In the first place, we have been long on the most familiar terms; and when you were lately here, I was almost the only person whom you summoned to see you. And finally, though I might well reckon it first, I am your countryman; not to say that I yield to none as an admirer of your genius and herald of your glory. Whatever therefore I write to you, however freely expressed, I trust you will believe to proceed from a friendly heart, your good name being the object in view. For I deem it is your interest to be informed, what in your absence is thought of you by the mass of mankind. Therefore you should know, first, that your *Moria*

has excited a great disturbance even among those who were formerly your most devoted admirers. * * * It is not for me to advise. But I humbly trust that you will do all that is required, if you compose and publish in reply to Folly, a Defence of Wisdom.

Upon the other subject of this lengthy letter,—I hear that you have purged the Epistles of Jerome from the errors in which they abounded, have marked the spurious passages with *obeli*, and elucidated those that were obscure. This is a task worthy of you. But I also understand, that you have corrected the New Testament, and written notes on more than a thousand passages, not without profit to Theologians. This is another matter, upon which in all friendship I have longed to convey a warning to a friend. * * *

You are proposing to correct the Latin copies by the Greek. But if I show that the Latin version has no mixture of falsehood or mistake, will you not admit that such a work is unnecessary? But this is what I claim for the Vulgate, since it is unreasonable to suppose, that the Universal Church has been in error for so many generations in her use of this edition, nor is it probable that so many holy Fathers have been mistaken, who in reliance upon it have defined the most arduous questions in General Councils, which, it is admitted by most theologians as well as lawyers, are not subject to error in matters of faith. * * *

You have here a prolix and foolish epistle, but one which cannot be unwelcome to you, as coming from a person that loves you dearly. Our printer, Thierry Martens of Alost, who printed the *Enchiridion* and *Panegyric*, begs me to commend him to your courtesy. He wanted very much to see you, and to receive you with hospitality, and for that purpose made a journey to Antwerp. When he found you were not there, but at Louvain, he hurried back, and after walking the whole night arrived next day at Louvain about an hour and a half after you were gone. If there are any

matters in which he can oblige you, he promises everything, and I do not know any one living more attached to you. The *Cato*, corrected by you and left in my hands, he has printed accurately, with my help as corrector of the press. That work I have presented, as you bade me, to John Nevius, the Master of the Lilian School, who is very sensible of this favour, as you will find when you come here again.* If you dedicate some one of your publications to my patron, the lord abbot of Egmund,† he will be most grateful, and will repay the favour with liberality; I specially beg you to do so. He is a Hollander, and the head of his Order in Holland, a man of learning, but more religious than learned, though he has no slight love for all learned men; and he may on occasion be helpful to you in many ways. His name is Meinard Man.‡ Farewell, most learned and most dear Erasmus.

[Louvain, October, 1514.]§

By the same messenger that carried his despatch to lord Mountjoy with the postscript dated 29 Aug. (Epistle 291), Erasmus appears to have written to Colet, who sent him the following reply.

Epistle 305. Deventer MS.; C. 1573 (85).

Colet to Erasmus.

Dearest Erasmus, I have received your letter written at Basel on the 30th of August. I am glad to learn, where you are, and under what sky you are living; glad too, that you are well. Pray fulfil the vow you say you have made to St. Paul.‖ I can easily believe you were made as much of at Mayence as you write. I am glad you are thinking of

* See before, p. 153.

† D. Abbati Haecmondensi.

‡ Menardus Vir. Meinard Man, thirty-sixth abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Egmund, elected 1509, died 1526. Joannes de Leydis, *Annales Egmundani*, cap. 94.

§ No date in original.

‖ See the letter to Mountjoy (p. 152), which had probably been shown to Colet.

returning some day to us, and yet I cannot hope it. I know not what to say to you about a more plentiful fortune, because they who could will not, and they who would cannot. All your friends here are well. My lord of Canterbury is as sweet as usual. He of Lincoln now reigns as archbishop of York. He of London continues to harass me. I daily think of my retreat and hiding-place among the Carthusians; our nest is nearly finished. When you come back to us, you will, as far as I can guess, find me there, dead to the world. Take care of your health, and let me know your movements.

London, 20 Oct. [1514].†

About the same time Erasmus received a friendly letter from an antagonist of a later date, Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples (Jacobus Faber Stapulensis), congratulating him upon the theological labours which were to lead to their controversy.

EPISTLE 306. Epistolæ aliquot, Louvain, 1516; Ep. ii. 33; C. 1812 (437).

Jacques Lefèvre to Erasmus.

About twilight yesterday, the bearer of these presents met me and delivered your greetings, which could not but be most welcome to me. But what filled my mind with more abundant joy, was the intelligence he brought me, that you are busy with the printers in Germany. For, as I at once apprehended, the public utility and your zeal for the propagation of Letters have induced you to leave Britain. * *

Farewell and be happy; live for us and our age; and love him that reveres and loves you.

From the convent of St. Germain by Paris, 23 Oct. [1514].‡

† Ex Londino 20 Octobris, Anno 1516. C.

‡ Ex cœnobio diui Germani iuxta Lutetiam Parisiorum. X. Cal'. No. *Epist. aliquot.*

Before the receipt of the two last Epistles Erasmus had answered the complimentary letter of Zasius by EPISTLE 307, dated from Basel the 28th of October, [1514]. In this letter, which is printed in a memoir of Zasius by Joseph Neff (*Programma des Gymnasiums zu Freiburg*, 1891), Erasmus attributed the delay in his answer, to his labours upon the Adages and upon the Works of Jerome. He sent, with his letter, a copy of his translations from Plutarch, which was the first of his works printed by Froben, bearing date in August, 1514.*

In a letter of Zasius to Erasmus, dated the 7th of November, full of profuse compliments,—EPISTLE 308, Deventer MS., C. 1533 (14)—the writer thanks his correspondent for the present of his Plutarch, and conveys the greeting of Boniface Amerbach. See p. 161.

By a letter addressed to Beatus Rhenanus and dated from Nuremberg, 9 Dec. 1514, Wilibald Pirckheimer reminds his correspondent, that they had become acquainted with each other through Conrad Peutunger, and expresses a wish to be made known by Beatus to Erasmus, whom he desires to invite to Nuremberg. EPISTLE 309. C. 1534 (15). In this way Erasmus began his acquaintance with a person of some social importance (Councillor of the Emperor Maximilian and Senator of Nuremberg), with whom he continued to exchange letters for many years.

The letter of Zasius, from which some sentences are given below, is included in the *Farrago Epistolarum*.

EPISTLE 310. Farrago, p. 386; Ep. xii. 6; C. 133 (152).

Zasius to Erasmus.

Pray do not be surprised, if I seldom write to so great a personage. You will indeed rather wonder at my having written at all; so much does the splendour of your name dazzle my eyes and mind. * * * If I had not been encouraged by your wonderful affability, which our friend Boniface Amerbach is incessantly proclaiming, and

* *Plutarchi Opuscula Erasmo interprete.* Froben, August, 1514.

if I were not invited, or rather compelled, by that most charming present with which you have honoured me, I should certainly have abstained from putting pen to paper. * * *

The Glosses upon certain parts of the Civil Law and other legal treatises, which I hope soon to publish, will proclaim to the world the opinions about you, which modesty and shame deter me from writing to yourself.

Freiburg, 22 Dec. 1514.†

John Becar Borssele, formerly of Middelburg (see p. 129), writes to Erasmus, 4 Jan. 1515, from Arlon in Luxemburg, where he has gone to take charge of the young nephew of his patron, Jerome Busleiden. See vol. i. p. 358. He is very anxious to hear news of Erasmus, and adds the following postscript, characteristic of the time.

Epistle 311. Deventer MS.; C. 1535 (18).

Borssele to Erasmus.

* * * * *

If, in the absence of Erasmus, anyone that loves and respects his name and erudition shall open this letter, as I have requested on the address, I beg him by the common love which we both bear to Erasmus, to write a few lines in reply, and so perform the part of our friend; and if, being unknown and far away, I cannot express my thanks to him, I shall nevertheless always remain very grateful.

Arlon, 4 January, 1515.‡

Epistle 312 is addressed by Henry Bebel to Erasmus, with the date, Tübingen, 20 Jan. 1515. Deventer MS.; C. 1534 (19). The writer had heard a rumour, founded upon a letter of Beatus Rhenanus,

† Ex Friburgo. xi. Cal. Ianuarii Anno m.d.xiiii. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epist.* In C. the year-date is altered to 1513.

‡ Araluno, oppido terræ Lucemburgensis, 4 Januarii, Anno 1515. C.

that Erasmus was dead, but now hears that he is at Basel. He begs his correspondent for the credit of his country to proclaim himself a German, and not to allow himself to be appropriated by France or England. When we consider that Erasmus in January, 1515, had been nearly five months at Basel in the company of Beatus, it appears strange that such a rumour, so founded, should have been spread at that time. But as the same observation would apply to January, 1516, there appears to be no reason for altering the year-date. We may suppose, that if the letter upon which the rumour was founded was recent, some expression of Beatus had been misunderstood.

In this same month (January, 1515) Erasmus began a correspondence with Wilibald Pirckheimer, to which he was invited by a message in Epistle 309. In his first letter he speaks of the interest he has taken in what he has seen of Pirckheimer's writings, and gives an account of his own occupations at Basel.

EPISTLE 313. Scriverius, Vita Erasmi, p. 209; Ep. xxx. 21; C. 1551 (48).

Erasmus to Wilibald Pirckheimer.

* * * * *

My Chiliads of Adages are being issued so emended and enriched, that it might seem a new work. All the remains of St. Jerome are being edited, illustrated with abstracts and *scholia* by me, not without great labour, the spurious additions being marked and printed separately. We have emended the New Testament, and added some *scholia*. We have also other schemes in hand.

With these works we have been so overwhelmed for the last five months or more, that we have scarcely been able to keep our health; and yet I cannot refrain from assailing Wilibald with these worse than extemporaneous trivialities.* I know what is demanded by your rank, by your erudition;

* Plus quam extemporariis magis [*qu.* nugis].

but you will take in good part an act which has been, not prompted, but forced upon me, by the love of you. A messenger has turned up unexpectedly; and I had rather he should go with a foolish letter from me than with none. A little more leisure will be given me before long, and then I shall send you, not letters but volumes. I wish you were nearer, for in March I am going back to Britain. Farewell, chief glory of our Germany.

Basel, 24 Jan. [1515].*

At the end of his holiday Sapidus had returned to Schlettstadt. In a letter to Erasmus, dated from that town, 31 Jan. 1515, EPISTLE 314, Deventer MS., C. 1536 (20), he excuses himself for having let pass several opportunities of writing, and introduces Jacobus Specularis, a Secretary of the emperor Maximilian, who is desirous of visiting Erasmus at Basel, when he has time to do so.

The contents of Epistle 315, addressed to Reuchlin, leave no doubt, that it was written after Erasmus had undertaken at Basel the direction of the editing of Jerome, and shortly before his departure from that place; while the date, 1 March, shows that it belongs to 1515, and not to 1516, when Erasmus prolonged his stay at Basel until May.

In the *Illustrium Virorum Epistolæ*, where the letter was first printed in 1519, and in Geiger's collection of the Correspondence of Reuchlin, 1875, it contains near the end the words, *Romam avolamus* (see p. 177), which led the editor of the latter work to place it in 1510, when he supposed that Erasmus, then at Siena, was on the point of starting for Rome. I am inclined to think that the word *Romam* may be an error,—possibly the conjectural reading of a copyist in the place of an illegible word, perhaps *statim* or *perendie*. Some time before, being then on his way to Basel, Erasmus had written of a possible journey to Rome (see p. 150), and after his return to England about a month later (Epistle 318, p. 190) he proposes to visit Rome again in the following winter, but it appears very unlikely, that when almost on the point of starting for England in accordance with a resolution he had formed some weeks before (see pp. 170, 171), he would tell Reuchlin, that he was flying to Rome.

* Basileæ. non. Kal. Febr. *Vita Erasmi.* Anno 1516. C.

EPISTLE 315. Illust. Virorum Epist. s. iii ; Geiger, Reuchlins Briefwechsel, p. 119.

Erasmus to Reuchlin.

I have written twice to you, perhaps more carelessly than was becoming to so great a man, but in a friendly and simple way ; and you do not answer a word. I cannot however suspect anything of you, unworthy of a most learned and at the same time most courteous character. The Bishop of Rochester, a person of absolute learning, writes to me about you as follows. "Many thanks for your remembrance of me, and for your letter, and especially for writing so fully about Reuchlin, for whom I have a high regard, though he is a stranger to me." And further on he says, "To return to Reuchlin,—if he has published any works which are not in our hands, pray have them sent to us. For I am extremely pleased with his erudition, and do not suppose there is any one now living who comes nearer to Giovanni Pico. I should like you to ask him by letter, unless you happen to meet him, where he got that genealogy of the Virgin Mary, which he has put at the end of his Hebrew vocabulary ; and I very much wish to know, what authority this genealogy has, and how it can be that, whereas according to the breviary of Philo the line of Solomon was entirely cut off, she is nevertheless there represented to be descended from Solomon. Do endeavour, Erasmus, to get Reuchlin to be good enough to satisfy me on these two points." And again at the end "Farewell, Erasmus, and commend me to Reuchlin, whom I should certainly visit myself, if it were not for the sacred robes I wear." This, my dear Reuchlin, is what that distinguished man has written to me with his own hand. I have copied it word for word, that you may see how much he thinks of you. He deserves

some return from your courtesy, if only because he has so warm a regard for you.

We write this in readiness for our journey, and indeed full of business; for we are taking flight to Rome.* As to the edition of the works of Jerome, I am so far from wishing to claim for myself one tittle of your labours or of your glory, that I should sooner transfer some of mine to you. When I undertook this work, I had no idea that you were engaged in the same; although in fact we are not doing the same; and I make no claim to Hebrew, which I have only tasted with the tip of my tongue. At the conclusion every one shall have the credit that belongs to him, and that most candidly acknowledged.

Farewell, and write Erasmus among those who are truly and sincerely devoted to your name.

[Basel] 1 March [1515].†

Erasmus does not appear to have left Basel until after the 7th of March, on which day is dated a dedicatory Epistle to Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, prefixed to an edition of the works of Seneca, which Froben was preparing to publish under the supervision of Erasmus. The epistle to Ruthall, which has not been reprinted in any of the collections of Erasmus's Epistles, may be found in our Appendix. It is of some interest on account of the reference to the victory of Flodden (9 Sept. 1513), and other events on the Scottish border, where the bishop was one of the principal magnates. He had been much grieved at the destruction by the Scots of his castle of Norham, which he appears to have rebuilt.

Epistle 316. Senecæ Opera, Basel, 1515, p. 3.

Erasmus to Bishop Thomas Ruthall.

It has strangely come to pass, most illustrious Prelate, that we have been both engaged in operations, which,

* Nam Romam [*qu.* statim] avolamus. See an observation upon this sentence in p. 175.

† Kal. Martiis (no year or place). *Ill. vir. Epist.*

though of a different kind, have nevertheless some sort of resemblance. While you were, first, under the happy auspices of a truly unconquered king, putting the French to flight, and then, returning from one battlefield to another, were repelling the king of Scots, who had invaded your own frontier, I was exerting all my efforts to rescue two authors, the one, St. Jerome, the other, Seneca,—from the direst foes of letters, I mean the errors, with which they were not merely defaced, but overwhelmed. I cannot allow that your campaign was more difficult or more laborious than mine; and in one respect I may claim the higher credit, inasmuch as I was both soldier and captain,—fighting with my own hand against thousands of foes. The slaughter has not been less considerable. In the affair with the French, your losses were lessened by the politeness of your foes; for what else shall I call it, when at the first encounter they made way for their betters,* and seem to have only come to give you an object of pursuit? But the victory over the Scots was indeed important, inasmuch as their king and so many of his nobles lost their lives, and that king one who with the spirit of a gladiator was plotting the greatest mischief to the whole island; though your success was bought with the blood of many of your own followers. For my own part I have, in my one engagement, stabbed and destroyed more than four thousand portentous foes; for that number of mistakes I suppose I have struck out in Seneca alone. The Scottish army had scarcely passed the border, and had taken a single castle, from which he was promptly driven; but all Jerome and all Seneca had been occupied for centuries by an untold number of errors, so that there was scarcely a line left which was not in the enemy's occupation. And in such difficult circumstances my only allies were two old manu-

* Cessere melioribus.

scripts, the first supplied by my one Mæcenas, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, the other sent me from King's College, Cambridge. But both these copies were not only incomplete, but more faulty than that already printed, so that one's auxiliaries were as little to be trusted as the enemy himself; though it was some advantage that they were not consistent in their mistakes. And as a careful and experienced judge is able to gather his facts from the testimony of several witnesses, no one of whom is telling the truth, so out of a variety of errors we have endeavoured to conjecture the true reading. In many cases we had to proceed as it were by scent, following the mere traces of points and letters; in others it was simply guess-work, though this we could only sparingly admit, bearing in mind that the remains of great writers are sacred, and should be treated not only carefully but with religious respect; and we have therefore left many passages to be dealt with by future editors. The works falsely attributed to Seneca have not been altogether omitted, lest some reader should fail to find what he might be seeking; but thay have been placed at the end of the book. The rest we have arranged in more convenient order; and have added an amusing, as well as learned, discourse on the death of Claudius, which has been lately found in Germany, and is illustrated with learned notes by Beatus Rhenanus. I only wish the book on Earthquakes were extant, which the author mentions in his *Natural Questions;* and another on Marriage, cited by Jerome in writing against Jovinianus, and a third on Superstition, which is quoted by Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei.* * * *

To confess the truth, Jerome is our only theological author, whom we can put in the same rank with those of Greece. And Seneca was so esteemed by Jerome, that he is the only non-Christian writer, whom he deemed worthy to be read by Christians. Nothing is more holy than his

precepts, and he recommends virtue with so much warmth, that one cannot but believe him to have practised what he taught. Caligula called the prose of Seneca "sand without lime," but the same emperor had so little opinion of Virgil and of Livy, that he scarcely refrained from turning their statues out of all the libraries. * * *

I am not unaware that there are many errors still remaining, which however could scarcely have been corrected without the help of manuscripts, even by Seneca himself. Restored as far as possible by our care, he will now issue into the light under the protection of your name. I do not forget, that when I chanced to see you on your return from beyond the sea, I was permitted by your kindness to share in the French spoils, without having taken part in the battle. Permit me in return to consecrate to you the trophies of my own campaign, that I may not appear to conceal or to be unconscious of the magnitude of my obligations to you. The first would be evidence of ingratitude, the other of stupidity. Farewell, most distinguished Prelate.

Basel, 7 March, 1515.*

By this time the prolonged literary labours of Erasmus were beginning to affect his health (see pp. 174, 188, 213); and not many days after the date of the last Epistle, probably in the second week of March, he left Basel in order to revisit England. On the last day of the same month of March he dates some important letters from London. See our next Chapter. The publication of Seneca was left to be completed by Froben and his assistants. The title of the book bears date, An. M.D.XV. Mense Iulio; and the Colophon, Anno. M.D.XV. Mense Augusto.

* Basileæ, Nonis Martiis. Anno salutis. M.D.XV.

CHAPTER XXV.

Return to England, March, 1515. *Sojourn in England, March to June*, 1515. *Epistles* 317 *to* 327.

Of Erasmus's journey from Switzerland to England in 1515 we have the following particulars. From Epistle 315 we conclude, that he left Basel early in March, and we learn from a letter of Beatus Rhenanus (Epistle 324), that he paused at Frankfort, where the booksellers appear to have been already gathering in anticipation of the annual April fair, then a great event in that trade. He was afterwards at Antwerp (Epistles 317, 326),—probably at the house of his friend, Peter Gillis,—where he first met with a copy of the Epistle of Dorpius, Epistle 304. At Ghent he was detained three days by his patron, John Le Sauvage, Chancellor of Burgundy; and after touching at Tournay, which had passed into English possession in the war of 1513, and of which his friend, lord Mountjoy, had been appointed Governor in January, 1515, he made a short halt,—to rest his horses before crossing the Channel,—at St. Omer, where he was welcomed by the Abbot of St. Bertin, and where he designed a Commentary on the First Psalm, as a present for his friend Beatus Rhenanus.* He then proceeded, we may presume by his usual route through Calais and Dover, to London, which he appears to have reached about three weeks after his departure from Basel. In one of his letters (Epistle 326) he tells Peter Gillis, that his passage across the Channel was costly and dangerous, but rapid. The first work to which he addressed himself after his arrival in England was to compose a long answer (Epistle 317)† to the Epistle of Dorpius (Epistle 304). It is not proposed to enter further into this controversy. The following short

* Apud divum Audomarum de parando tibi xeniolo coepi cogitare. Epistle 320. The dedication was added some days later in England, see p. 194. His visit to Ghent and Tournay are mentioned in Epistle 326.

† *Erasmi ad Martinum Dorpium Epistola Apologetica*, etc. Froben, August, 1515. See Introduction, vol. i. p. xxviii

extracts from the first page of the epistle of Erasmus are here given in evidence of his own occupations and movements. The epistle in the printed copy is dated, Antwerp, 1515, but its opening sentences, translated below, including a reference to what had taken place 'at Antwerp,' show, that it was not composed in that city, but written after the completion of the writer's passage across the Channel and the ride to London that followed. I date it in March, because the writing of it appears to have been Erasmus's first business after his arrival in England, and the following epistles, written in London, bear date at the end of that month.

EPISTLE 317. Epistola apologetica, 1515; Ep. xxxi. 42; Jortin, Life of Erasmus, ii. 336.

Erasmus to Martinus Dorpius.

Your epistle has not been delivered to us; nevertheless a copy, I know not how obtained, was shown me by a friend at Antwerp. You deplore the publication of the *Moria* as unfortunate; and while you approve our studies in the restoration of Jerome, you deprecate the publication of the New Testament. * * *

I am extremely anxious that whatever I do should be done with your approbation; and though still squeamish from my sea journey as well as fatigued by the ride that followed,† and busy besides in making up parcels, I think it right to make answer at once in some sort of fashion, rather than leave a friend in the opinion which you have expressed, whether it has been of your own conception, or instilled into you by persons who have suborned you to write that Epistle in order to play their own game under the mask of another. * * *

[London, March] 1515.‡

† Adhuc a nauigatione nauseabundus, et mox equitatione fessus.

‡ Antuuerpiæ. An. M.D.XV. *Epistola Apologetica*, 1515.

Erasmus now thought it expedient, in view of his intended theological publications, to put himself in communication with those exalted patrons from whom he might hope for support at Rome. His first letters were written to two Cardinals, to whom he was personally known, Domenico Grimani, Cardinal of St. Mark, and Raffaele Riario, Cardinal of St. George. But we shall find, that, before another month was past, he determined to address a letter to the Pope himself. In this matter he was perhaps influenced by the advice of Ammonius, who may well have thought that Pope Leo would be rather gratified by a personal appeal from an author, whose name had become of late years so well known.

In writing to the Cardinals, Erasmus took the opportunity of pleading the cause of Reuchlin, whose book, entitled *Augenspiegel* or *Defensio contra calumniatores*, published in 1513 (in answer to a pamphlet of John Pfefferkorn, entitled *Handspiegel*, published, 1511), had been condemned by the University of Paris in 1514, and was now on appeal before the Roman Curia; the controversy having arisen out of an authority, which had been obtained from the Emperor by Pfefferkorn, who was himself a converted Jew, to burn all Hebrew books except the Bible.

In Epistle 318 Erasmus introduces himself to his correspondent by recalling his visit to the Palace of Venice in Rome, described in vol. i. p. 461.

EPISTLE 318. Epistolæ aliquot, Louvain, 1516; Ep. ii. 2; C. 141 (167).

Erasmus to Cardinal Domenico Grimani.

After my first interview with your Eminence, which was also my last, I was prevented from paying you another visit (as I had received your command and had myself undertaken to do) not by my negligence, but rather by your own singular courtesy and goodness. It was indeed a strange circumstance, that the very thing which ought most to have led me to return, was the sole means of deterring me from doing so. What strange cause was this? you will say. I will tell you

in plain words and frankly, as becomes a German. At that time I had quite determined to go to England, to which I was attracted by the sentiment of old acquaintance, by the ample promises of powerful friends, and by the special favour of the most prosperous of kings. I had made this island my adopted country, and chosen it for the residence of my old age. I was invited and solicited by frequent letters promising all but mountains of gold. My only fear was, that I should change my resolution if I returned to your Eminence. In our first talk you had so shaken my purpose, so inflamed my spirit, that I know not what would have happened if I had been longer and more closely with you. I felt the love of the City, which I had hardly shaken off, silently growing upon me afresh. It was plain that, if I had not torn myself suddenly from Rome, I should never have left it again. I hurried away from your influence, and flew rather than travelled to England. "And now," you will say, "do you repent of your resolve? Are you sorry you did not listen to my loving advice?" In good sooth I have not the trick of lying; and do not always regard the matter in the same way. I cannot but be touched with a longing for Rome, whenever I think of the multitude of advantages which it unites. In the first place the light and publicity of the most frequented of all cities, the most delightful freedom, so many rich libraries, the acquaintance of so many learned persons, so much literary conversation, so many monuments of antiquity, in fine so many lights of the whole world collected in one place! To come to particulars, when I think of the extraordinary attention shown us by other Cardinals and especially by his Eminence of Nantes, of the marked favour of the Cardinal of Bologna, of the unusual kindness of the Cardinal of St. George, and above all of that most happy colloquy with you,—these are things that make it impossible for any fortune, however kind, to relieve my heart of the longing which has been left there by my one taste of Rome.

In England at present, although the fortune I have obtained is not contemptible, and is at any rate greater than my deserts, yet, to confess the truth, it does not answer either to my wishes or the promises of my friends. This has come to pass, not so much by any breach of faith on their part as by the perversity of the times. The King himself, who is the kindest of kings, and who has besides both felt and spoken most favourably of Erasmus (as I was assured partly by a letter of his own to me, and partly by what I was told by many others) has been carried away by the tempest of wars bursting suddenly upon us. With such spirit and zeal did this pious and generous young prince engage in the contest which he thought necessary for maintaining the dignity of the Roman Church. So also William, lord Mountjoy, the earliest patron of our studies after Henry of Bergen, bishop of Cambrai, has been so overwhelmed with the burdens of war, that he has given us more love than help. He is a person of ancient lineage and of incredible goodness to men of letters, but as compared with other barons of this country, is richer in mind than in fortune. I might also find fault with my own laziness, for I am so far from being a good suitor, that I have need of the luck of Timotheus, to have my net filled while I sleep.

That I cannot be altogether sorry for having come to England, is mainly owing to William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England not only in title but by every honorable distinction; a man incomparable in every way, the one ornament and safeguard of the realm, great in wisdom, learning and authority, but greater still in this, that from his singular modesty he is the only person who is not aware of his own greatness. A marvellous sobriety of life; an intellect of supreme dexterity; an active mind that has no taste at all for repose; great experience in affairs, having been long employed in important embassies and in the principal business of former kings. He is consequently not

only capable of undertaking more administrative work than several other men could do together, but there is still something of him left, which he can devote to the perusal of good authors, and to the attachment of private friendship. For besides his episcopal duties, he fills the place of Chancellor, that is, supreme judge of the whole kingdom. This prelate treats me with so much distinction and kindness, shows himself in short so admirable a patron, that if he were my father, he could not deal more indulgently, or if my brother, more lovingly with me; and much as I left behind me at Rome in so many excellent Cardinals, in so many distinguished bishops, and in so many learned men, I seem to have found it all again in this one personage.

Now that, by the labours of Pope Leo, peace is restored to the world, my position in England is much improved. But still my mind is more fascinated by a longing for Rome, when it is everywhere proclaimed by Fame, as it is in itself most probable, that under such a sovereign whatever is to be found in any country of superior learning or of extraordinary merit will at this time, as if on a given signal, come together to Rome, as its proper theatre. Accordingly more than two years ago* I was prepared to make the journey in company with the Reverend Father, John, Bishop of Rochester, a person loaded with every virtue becoming a bishop, and to sum up his praises in brief, most like the Archbishop of Canterbury whose suffragan he is; but he was suddenly recalled from his mission. Again last year I proceeded as far as Basel under my own auspices. But there I was delayed by a matter, which whatever may be thought by others, is in my judgment most important, and important indeed it had need to be, to keep me away from Rome. I have been long endeavouring, at the cost of no

* Ante biennium igitur. Erasmus seems here to connect this proposed journey, which was really in the time of Pope Julius, three years before (Feb. 1512, see p. 57), with the accession of Leo.

ordinary vigils, to bring St. Jerome all to life again, who is so far our greatest Latin theologian, that he may be almost called our only one ; but whose works are so corrupted, that, while there is no other author equally worth reading, he is the one of all others, that cannot be read, still less understood. I have accordingly in the first place arranged in due order all his works ; especially his Epistles, which was the most laborious task ; and in the next place I have with the help of old manuscripts and by my own ingenuity corrected the errors with which his language is defaced, or I might rather say effaced. We have added an analysis, and such convenient annotations as will make it possible, that fairly educated persons may read this author without difficulty. For, as it was said of Romulus, that the show he made of his noble feats was no less magnificent than his doing of them, so we may see in St. Jerome a fresh and varied erudition combined with a sort of holy ostentation. The passages in Greek and Hebrew, which were either omitted altogether, or inserted in such a fashion that they had better not have been put in at all, we have restored with the utmost care. The spurious additions, which make up a considerable part of the book, we have relegated to a separate volume, in order that nothing may be missed by a reader with more appetite than discernment, and that on the other hand the most ignorant gabble may no longer be circulated under the name of so incomparable a writer. I had looked forward to Italy as the best place for publishing the book, both on account of the assistance of its libraries and the authority of its name ; but I fell in at Basel with some persons who were in training for this very work, and had indeed commenced it already, namely John Froben, by whose skill and at whose cost the affair is principally conducted, and three most learned young brothers of the name of Amerbach, who are well skilled in Hebrew. That language is frequently used by Jerome, and in this department I

needed, in Greek phrase, a Theseus, having only tasted Hebrew, as people say, with the tip of my tongue. With these assistants I have attacked the task with Herculean vigour. A huge workshop is kept in a glow, while St. Jerome is being reproduced in a most elegant type, at such an expense of money and labour, that it cost the author less to write his works than it has cost us to restore them. To me the labour has been so great, that I have almost died myself in endeavouring to bring Jerome to life again. If I am not mistaken, the work will mount up to ten volumes.

You will perhaps ask, what is your concern in this. In the first place, I knew that your constant zeal for good Letters would lead you both to rejoice in the resuscitation of Jerome, and to encourage our endeavours,—I might rather say, to encourage Christian piety, which will, I hope, gain no little aid from his writings. The undertaking cannot be completed as it ought to be done, without the assistance of many well-furnished libraries. If therefore there is anything either in your own library, which is so richly stored with books of all kinds in every language, or in that of the Pope, or of others, it will be worthy of your goodness to impart it for the common advantage of the world. And in the next place, it has occurred to me that it would be very appropriate, that this edition of our supreme theologian, should come into the reader's hands under the happy auspices of the Supreme Pontiff, and that the most learned of all writers, should be recommended to the world by the name of one, whose family has given birth to so many princes of literature. The authority of so excellent a pontiff would add much splendor and dignity to Jerome, and on the other hand Leo would gain no small accession of glory from the celebrity of the most eminent doctor of the Church.

We shall therefore consecrate the restored Jerome to the Pope, especially if our judgment is approved by your suffrage. For otherwise we had all but determined to

dedicate it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom we owe everything; although I am quite sure that his feeling towards the See of Rome is such, that he will willingly give up to the Roman Pontiff whatever honour it might bring. And we will so associate his memory with the praises of Leo, that in this way both the interests of Jerome and the fame of my Mæcenas will be best consulted.

We have published, beside several other works, the Adages in an emended form, and so enriched that a fourth part of the volume is additional? * And next summer we propose to issue our, I trust, not unprofitable annotations on on the New Testament, together with the Apostolic Epistles translated by us in such a way as to make them intelligible. On this task I have, I think, been so employed, that my undertaking it after Laurentius Valla and the learned and industrious Jacques Lefèvre, may not seem to be altogether labour in vain.

We have in hand a little book on the Education of a Prince, which we have destined for Charles, Archduke of Burgundy, the grandson of Maximilian.† When we have completed what I have already mentioned, we shall take up again the Commentaries on St. Paul, which have been already begun. For I am resolved to dedicate the remainder of my life to sacred literature, and shall not be deterred by any toil, if I am only supported by your favour and that of others like you. For you know how old a story it is, that Envy, more noxious than a serpent, meets every extraordinary effort with a discordant hiss. An example of this we have lately seen to our great sorrow in the case of that eminent man, John Reuchlin. It was time, that a man of venerable age should enjoy his noble studies, and reap an agreeable

* This addition (ut superioris editionis summæ fere quarta pars accesserit) is also claimed in Froben's Preface to this book.

† As to this work, see Epistle 389, p. 249.

harvest from the glorious field of his youthful labours. But I hear that some persons have started up, who being themselves incapable of doing anything excellent, seek fame by a most perverse road. Good Heavens! out of what silly trifles, what frightful tragedies have they raised! To think that such disturbances should have arisen out of a little book, or rather a letter, and that written in German, which he neither published himself nor thought of publishing. If any one should discuss in this ill-natured and harsh way the books of St. Jerome, he will find many things widely differing from the decrees of our divines. In such troubles a person venerable both for years and learning is losing now, I believe, the seventh year, to the great distress and indignation of all the learned, and indeed of the whole of Germany. It is their hope, that by your assistance a man of so much eminence may be restored to the world and to Letters.

Next winter we shall be seen at Rome, if Christ grant his favour, and if the King's Majesty and the Archbishop of Canterbury give me leave to go again, which if I cannot obtain from them myself, St. Jerome will do it for me. May Christ, that good Samaritan, to whom I give and dedicate myself, keep you many years in safety and prosperity, for us, for Letters and for the World.

London, 31 March, 1515.*

The proposed second visit to Rome never took place. More than two years after the date of this Epistle Erasmus dedicated to Cardinal Grimani his Paraphrase of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. C. vii. 771. In the dedicatory letter there is no allusion to Reuchlin; but in the Epistle to Botzhem, or Catalogue of Lucubrations, Erasmus observes, that he did not expect or receive any present in return for his Dedication; but what he looked for, the Cardinal granted, and that was his good-will, not for himself, but for learning and for Reuchlin. *Cat. Lucub.* C. i. ***, *** 2; Jortin, *Erasmus*, Appendix, 444.

* Londini. Pridie Calendas Apriles. Anno M.D.XV. *Epistolæ aliquot.*

With Raphael Riario, Cardinal of St. George, of whom Erasmus had seen more at Rome, he appears to have kept up for a short time some correspondence.

EPISTLE 319. Epistolæ aliquot, Louvain, 1516; Ep. ii. 3; C. 141 (168).

Erasmus to Raphael, Cardinal of St. George.

The silence into which my letters have fallen for some years has not been caused, most Reverend Father, by any forgetfulness of my obligations to you, which I have not ceased, nor shall ever cease, both to remember and to proclaim; but partly by a sort of bashfulness, as I thought it presumptuous to interrupt with my trifles one who was distracted with such weighty matters of business, to abstain from visiting being sometimes the kindest attention; and partly by the cruelty of this worse than Iron Age which has fallen upon us. For if among Arms Laws are silent, how much more silent are the Virgin Muses, when the world resounds with storms, by which everything is disturbed and confused. But now that under the happy auspices of Pope Leo, Pontiff Greatest in every sense, Peace is at last restored to the world, the campaigns of princes stayed, and that universal and most mischievous dissension removed, not only do my letters travel with alacrity to Rome, but I am myself fired with a marvellous desire to revisit my old patrons. I have a moderate fortune in Britain,—as much below my wishes and my friends' promises, as it is greater than my deserts. For King Henry, than whose character nothing can be conceived more excellent or more happy, both thinks and speaks of me as lovingly and honourably as any one could do. The Bishops are friendly to me, especially the bishop of Durham, the king's Secretary. So is the bishop

of Rochester, a person of singular piety and learning; and also the Archbishop of York, who possesses at this time an incredible favour and influence with the King, so that the greatest part of the public business rests upon his shoulders. Beside these the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, protects and honours me with so much kindness and affection, that he could not treat me more lovingly if he were my father or my brother. And yet I cannot but be tormented by the longing for Rome, whenever it comes back to my mind, what freedom, what light, what walks, what libraries, what honeyed converse with the most learned men, how many princes, who were my kindest friends, I left behind me in quitting the City. And indeed I sometimes think there is no calamity that I do not deserve, when I fancied that any fortune in the world could compensate me for the loss of so great a Mæcenas as your Eminence, to whom I was already obliged, and who was willing in every way to promote my honour and advancement. But what was I to do? Mountains of gold, and more than gold, were offered by the letters of my friends. Lord Mountjoy promised great and certain advantages, combined with the utmost leisure, and with liberty, to which I am so attached, that without it I do not reckon what remains to be life. I dreamed of a golden age and the Fortunate Islands, and then, as Aristophanes says, I awoke.

* * * * *

The edition of Jerome is a great work, which will extend, I think, to ten volumes, and is being printed with so much care and at so much expense, that I would venture to swear no work so costly or laborious has issued from any press during the last twenty years. * * Last year we spent eight whole months at Basel upon this object, at a great pecuniary loss, not to mention the labour and dangerous journey. And next autumn I am determined to go to Italy to search those rich libraries of yours. * * *

I beg meantime that, if any occasion should arise, you will show yourself such a patron as I always found you when I was in Rome. Should any business occur here, in which you will not disdain to use the service of your humblest client, especially with the Archbishop of Canterbury, you shall find that, whatever else I may want, loyalty and diligence will not be lacking.

One matter I had almost forgotten. I do most earnestly beseech and adjure you for the sake of good Letters, which your Eminence has always loved, that that distinguished man, Doctor John Reuchlin, may enjoy your protection and good-will in the business in which he is concerned. He is one to whom all Germany is indebted, having been the first to arouse in that country a love of Greek and Hebrew literature; a man of various learning, long known to the Christian world by the books which he has published, and especially favoured by the Emperor Maximilian, one of whose counsellors he is, while among his fellow-citizens he fills the honourable office of Triumvir,* with a reputation which has never been soiled. I might add the reverence that is due to years and grey hairs. At his age he might fairly expect to reap the harvest of his honorable studies; and we were looking forward to his producing for the advantage of us all what he had been storing for so many years. Therefore to all good men who know him by his writings, not only in Germany but also in France and England, it appears most unworthy that so distinguished a man should be harassed by such hateful litigation, and that for a thing that in my judgment is more trifling than the ass's shadow, which is the subject of the proverbial jest. Now that by your intercession our sovereigns have returned to peace, how absurd it is for men of learning to carry on war with books and controversies, and that, while those have their

* Reuchlin filled for some time a high judicial office, as one of the *Triumviri* of the Suabian League.

weapons sheathed, these should be stabbing each other with pens dipped in poison.

To many here the memory of Julius II. is the more in favour, on account of James Wimpfling, a man, like Reuchlin, not only commended for his erudition and holiness, but venerable for his age, whom that Pope relieved by his own command from similar disputes, and imposed silence on his calumniators. Believe me, he will secure the attachment of numberless mortals, whoever he may be, that shall restore Reuchlin to the Muses and to Letters.

London, 31 March, 1515.*

We have seen (p. 181) that, during the stay which Erasmus had made at St. Omer on his journey to England, he had designed a commentary on the first Psalm, *Beatus vir*, to be presented to his friend Beatus Rhenanus. The following dedicatory letter, dated the 13th of April, 1515, appears to have been added in London, the pause at St. Omer being mentioned in it, as a thing of the past.

EPISTLE 320. Erasmi Lucubrationes, Strasburg, Sept. 1515; Ep. xxix. 31; C. v. 171.

Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus.

When we see, most excellent Beatus, that even ordinary and illiterate people keep their friendships alive by a frequent interchange of presents, I have not thought it right that this courtesy should be lacking in those who are devoted to literary pursuits, especially in us, whom a common ardour for study has united in the closest possible friendship. Consequently,—when not long ago, my horses being tired out by a weary journey, I was forced to rest a few days at St. Omer,—in order that the time might not be altogether lost to study, I began to think of preparing

* Londini pridie Calendas Apriles; Anno M.D.XV. *Epistolæ aliquot.*

some keepsake for you. The admonition of our Seneca came appropriately to my mind, that in making a present one ought to consider, not only that it should be worthy of the sender, but especially that it should be suitable for the person to whom it is sent, as in that way things of little value in themselves become precious by the aptitude of their selection. But what present could be more fitly sent by a theologian to a theologian than a choice flower culled from the fields of Divine Literature? And what is more suitable to be sent to Beatus than the very formula of beatitude depicted by an inspired pen?

I therefore send this work to you, *Beatus Beato.* Blessed with a character free from vice, you do your utmost to keep your life, as well as your reputation, untarnished by any stain of sin. It may therefore well be thought, that the name of Beatus has become yours, not by mere chance, but by the providence of God. This little gift will not only remind you of your Erasmus, but put your own self before you. May it please our Maker that, as we have hitherto been sweetly united by our common studies, we may be worthy to enjoy together an everlasting and true Beatitude. Farewell, best of friends.

[London] 13 April, 1515.*

In the printed copies, the concluding date is *Apud divum Audomarum Idibus Aprilibus,* but the reference in the Epistle to his late stay at St. Omer implies that this letter was not written until he had left that place, and the dates of the Epistles to the Cardinals (Epistles 318, 319) show that he had arrived in London before the end of March.

Beatus himself was meantime busy at Basel, continuing the work of Erasmus, to whom he sent the following report of the activity of the Froben Press.

* Apud divum Audomarum Idibus Aprilibus. *Lucubrationes*, Strasburg, 1515. Anno. M.D.XV. *add. Enarratio*, Louvain, 1515.

Epistle 321. Deventer MS. ; C. 1537 (21).

Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus.

Most eloquent Sir, the Seneca is going on fairly well, being printed at two presses. Nesen is very careful in correcting the proofs ; and I only wish I was as happy in the restoration of the text, as he is quick-scented in detecting misprints. But as our copy has, as you know, many errors, your own assistance is still required.

* * * * *

If we had some ancient copy in hand, there is nothing I would rather do, than restore this author in the places which still require correction. In so doing I should benefit students, and redeem your promise,—though what you say in your preface is, that you have called attention, not to all, but to most of the errors.

Froben wants to have your New Testament, for which he promises to give as much as any one else. He denies that he had any commission from Duncellus,† about sending the clothes, though I understood otherwise from both of you. I am sorry you did not entrust Lachner with the letter, which I hear from Nesen you wrote to me. If you gave it to Schürer, I do not know when I shall get it ; you know his extraordinary carelessness. And perhaps I might now be answering some of your questions.

I should tell you, how our friend Glarean rode on horseback into the Hall of the Sophists, who were meeting to discuss the use of the *Parva Logicalia*, if I did not think it too silly to be written to you, a wise person, if ever there was one.

Of the thousand and eight hundred copies of the *Moria*

† Duncellus appears to be a servant of Erasmus, who in Epistle 324 is called Dinckellus. See pp. 197, 205.

only sixty remain. It is therefore to be reprinted at once; and if you like, the volume may include the *Scarabeus*, *Sileni*, Plutarch's *Gryllus*, the *Parasitica*, and the *Encomium Muscæ* of Lucian. Moreover, Froben is going to reprint your *Lucubrationes* (the book so called in the title-page)† as soon as he hears from you, that you do not wish to add anything fresh or to leave anything out. Nesen sends his respects, and wishes that he was as near the goal as he is to the starting point, not having as yet made much progress.

If you have laid out any money in buying clothes or anything else for Duncellus, Froben has promised to repay it. He wishes you every happiness. Our Glarean has gone off to Italy. We are expecting with pleasure your return in September. Farewell, most eloquent Sir, and do not forget your Beatus.

Basel, 17 April, 1515.‡

The following short note from the corrector of the press, whose industry is described in the above letter, may not improbably have accompanied the epistle of Beatus, having been written hastily by Nesen at the boat's side in delivering some more important parcel for carriage down the Rhine.

Epistle 322. Deventer MS.; C. 1589 (107).

William Nesen to Erasmus.

* * * * *

Most learned Erasmus, in the works of Seneca which you have taken so much pains to restore, we find some passages which are marked in your hand as supposititious, with the words, 'These are added by some rascal.' § Please write, though I am not learned enough to expect a letter from so

† See pp. 204, 211, 212, 238.

‡ Ex Basilea 17 Aprilis, Anno 1515. C.

§ Hæc a quodem nebulone addita.

learned a person, whether these passages are to be expunged, or printed with the rest. Farewell, most learned Erasmus, and count me among your servants. In haste at the boat.

Basel [April, 1515].

The Seneca was published by Froben in a folio volume, bearing date July, 1515. See p. 177.

When the great edition of the works of Jerome was approaching completion at Basel, Erasmus supplied a Dedication to Pope Leo, which he sent from London at the end of April, 1515. The reader may be surprised to see, how dominant a share Erasmus appears to claim for himself in the production of a work, which was not originated by him, and was already in progress before he joined the band of scholars engaged upon it. See pp. 135, 161, 177. But we may well believe, that his companions had been contented to yield to their distinguished associate the leading place, which he unhesitatingly assumes. Jerome is not the only subject of this address. The author cannot throw away the opportunity of contributing his support to the policy of Peace, which he ascribes to the Pope; and his belief that Leo had been instrumental in restoring the peace of Europe, may serve in some degree to account for the extravagance of his eulogy.

Epistle 323. Epistolæ aliquot etc. 1515; Ep. ii.1; C. 149(174).

Erasmus to Pope Leo X.

If your greatness is considered, most blessed Father, there is no sovereign so high but must feel some awe in addressing you. But the singular benignity of your character, which is not only proclaimed by the general voice of the world, but reflected in your features and demeanour, and of which I had some taste in private intercourse when I was at Rome, inspires so much confidence, that even an individual of the humblest rank like myself does not hesitate to intrude a letter upon your Holiness. Would that I were permitted to throw myself on my knees before you, and kiss those truly blessed feet! I see and hear, how in every part of the

Christian world the highest as well as the lowest are congratulating themselves on the elevation of such a Prince. And none have so good a reason to share this feeling, as those who are interested in the cause of true religion and good letters, because, in the first place, that noble and immortal family of Medici, to whom the world is indebted for Leo, has always been the nurse and the patron of those that excel in virtue and learning.

* * * * *

The world was conscious at once, when Leo was placed at the helm, that by a sudden revolution a worse than iron age was turned to gold. So great and providential a change revealed to all men the hand of God. The waves of war were calmed, and the mutual threats of sovereigns were repressed. The minds of the greatest kings, which had been severed by bitter hatred, were led to Christian concord. That baneful schism was removed, and great as the mischief was, it was so removed as to leave no scar. I need not tell, how you have restored several princes of Italy to their subjects, and a multitude of exiled citizens to their homes; how you have reinstated your own family, long afflicted by the injuries of Fortune; how Florence, which flourished so long through the prudence of your forefathers, has become by your means more flourishing than ever. It was indeed to answer to the ancestral name of Medici,—to cure at once so many immedicable ills of almost the whole world; and that not by severe measures, not by amputations or brandings or disagreeable medicines, but by good counsel and prudence, by gentleness and moderation. Let others extol the wars that the second Julius either actively promoted or successfully waged; let them reckon up the victories won by his arms, and celebrate his imperial triumphs; they must needs confess that his glory was associated with the suffering of multitudes.

* * * * *

As the greatness of Julius was manifested by stirring the world to arms, the higher greatness of Leo is testified by the restoration of universal peace. Your pre-eminence is more clearly shown by king Lewis of France submitting himself and his interests to your arbitration, than that of Julius by the defeat and discomfiture which he inflicted upon that monarch. The king of England does more honour to your authority by laying down his arms upon your suggestion, than he did to Julius by taking them up at his instigation; because anyone is easily tempted to undertake a war by the hope of victory, so attractive to all, and especially, perhaps, to those in whose way Fortune lays her snares; but to bring it to pass that so great a king,—I would rather say, that a young prince of a lofty and indomitable spirit, buoyed up moreover by the full tide of success, should loose his hold upon a certain victory, and be turned from the fiercest hostility to the most perfect concord, that does indeed appear to have in it something supernatural.

* * * * *

Happy commencements portend a happy issue; and our hope of victory is the more assured, as the war which you have declared, as well as the victory we are hoping for, is twofold. You have declared war on the one hand against Vice, without doubt the most mischievous, perhaps the only real enemy of the Christian profession; and on the other hand against the barbarous and impious foes of Christianity, and of the Roman See. But the former warfare, as it is the more necessary, is also by far the more difficult. It depends most upon ourselves, and therefore claims our closest attention; and when we have brought it to a successful issue, the other will with Christ's help be soon ended. Not to say meanwhile, that these two wars are of a very different character. One is such as no good man but must approve; for to wage war upon Vice is beyond all doubt in accordance with the

teaching of Christ and the exhortations of St. Paul, whereas we are neither commanded by Christ nor exhorted by the Apostles to make war against the Turks. If we grant that both wars ought to be carried on, it is certain that the war which has been declared by that Heavenly Spirit has a higher claim on our energies, than that which has been set on foot by men. And indeed, as Christ himself with his apostles and martyrs subdued the whole world by goodness, long-suffering and holy doctrine, it may be that in like manner we shall better overcome the Turks by the piety of our lives than by arms. The empire of Christianity will thus be defended by the same means by which it was originally established.

* * * * *

My mind has been long intent on a work, which may add some glory to the age of Leo. As this cannot be effected by my own genius, I have proposed to use the support of an immortal name. I saw that St. Jerome was so completely the first among Latin theologians, that we might almost call him the one person worthy of that name. What a fund in him of Roman eloquence, what skill in languages, what a knowledge of antiquity and of all history, what a retentive memory, what a perfect familiarity with mystic literature, above all, what zeal, what a wonderful inspiration of the divine breath! He is the one person who at the same time delights by his eloquence, teaches by his erudition, and ravishes by his holiness. But while we have in him an author most worthy to be read by all, we find his writings so depraved, that they cannot be understood even by the learned. * * *

To cut the matter short, so much toil has been expended, that I have nearly killed myself, in my earnest endeavour to bring Jerome back to life. And I will venture to swear, that it cost Jerome less to write his lucubrations than it has cost us to restore and illustrate them.

A work of no small importance is therefore proceeding actively at Basel, where Jerome is coming to life again complete in Froben's printing office, than which there is none more accurate, or producing a greater number of good books, especially of those relating to theology. Neither is this done by one man's labour or at one man's cost. For the other remains of Jerome, which I have not included in my own share,—though I contribute some occasional assistance,—have for some time furnished ample employment to several most learned men. Among them is that distinguished scholar, John Reuchlin, who is almost equally skilled in three languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and withal so versed in every branch of learning as to be a match for its greatest professors. He is therefore deservedly honoured and revered by all Germany as a Phœnix, and their one especial pride. No little assistance has also been received from Kühn of Nuremberg, a divine of the Order of Preachers, whose intimate knowledge of Greek is equalled by his indefatigable industry in literary work. With these we have also Beatus Rhenanus of Schlettstadt, a young man who combines accurate learning with the nicest critical judgment. I should add, that our most important assistants are the brothers Amerbach, at whose cost and by whose exertions in concert with Froben the work is mainly carried on. Indeed one may well believe, that this family has been raised up by the Fates themselves to be the means of bringing Jerome back to life. Their father, the best of men, had his three sons instructed in Greek, Hebrew and Latin for this purpose; and when he died, he bequeathed it to his children as a sort of hereditary study, dedicating what fortune he possessed to its fulfilment. These excellent young men are diligently discharging the commission imposed on them by their father, and have divided Jerome with me in such a way, that every part except the books of Epistles falls under their care.

But your Holiness will ask, what is the object of all this story. The point I am coming to, most blessed Father, is this. There is no name more celebrated or more approved than that of Jerome ; and yet I see a way by which it may acquire a brighter lustre and a more weighty authority. The glory of Leo is incomparably brilliant, and yet, if I am not mistaken, no small accession will accrue to it, if so rare, so important, so noble a work shall come to light and be placed in men's hands under the protection of your auspicious name. It appears to be truly appropriate, that all good letters, which are the nurselings of Peace, should flourish by means of that pontiff, by whom peace and leisure have been given to the world. It will be truly fitting, that the first doctor of the Christian religion should be dedicated to its highest prelate, and the best of all theologians recommended by the title of the best of all Popes. I am not unaware of the religious consideration that is involved in a dedication to your Holiness. The gift should be worthy of the Being to whom it is consecrated. Nevertheless if I am conscious of your favour in so acting, I shall desire to consecrate to Leo not only these lucubrations, but the whole produce of my studies. I do not myself expect any other outcome of my exertions, but that Christian piety may obtain some aid from the memorials of Jerome. He for whose sake I undergo this labour, will abundantly recompense me for it. Jerome will be more widely read, if he be more widely understood. But he will also be read more eagerly by all, if he be approved by the favorable mark of so great a Pontiff.

May your Holiness be long preserved in safety to us and the whole Christian commonwealth, and be advanced in ever increasing prosperity by the same Being who has given you to the world, Christ the Best and Greatest.

London, 29th April, 1515.*

* Datum Londini tertio Calendas Maias. An. M.D.XV. *Epistolæ aliquot.*

In the following letter, Beatus reports to Erasmus, how his work at Basel is proceeding in his absence under his correspondent's care. This Epistle, which is one of those left on Erasmus's death among the papers which have since found their way to Deventer, contains a passage, that has not, as far as I know, attracted special attention, but is calculated to excite some curiosity, as touching on the private life of Erasmus. The bearer, who had lately arrived at Basel, bore a great resemblance to Erasmus, and was apparently in some way nearly related to him, how near is left to the reader's suspicion.

Epistle 324. Deventer MS.; C. 1538 (23).

Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus.

Froben wants to have your New Testament. He also begs you to correct and send him your *Lucubratiunculæ*, I mean the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*.* To the *Moria* we shall add Plutarch's *Gryllus*, the *Parasitica* and *Musca* of Lucian, and also the *Scarabeus* and the *Sileni Alcibiadis*.†

Seneca is being printed at two presses. I wish the copy were more accurate, and the corrector of the press a little more careful. He fails to detect some of the errors; and what he does detect I am not always prepared to set right, both from deficiency of learning, and because an excess of ingenuity employed upon a book that is not one's own has some touch of fatuity.

Your kinsman, the bearer of this letter, has received ‡ two gold pieces from Froben, and has been all the more welcome to us, because his figure closely recalls that of Erasmus, so

* This work with some small additions was published in 1503, and again in 1509 and 1515, under the title of *Lucubratiunculæ*. See p. 197, and vol. i. pp. 219, 361.

† Beatus appears to be proposing to print with the *Moria* some fragments of Plutarch and Lucian, and also two extracts from the Adages, which were separately published with other treatises. I do not know whether any edition of the *Moria* accompanied with these extracts exists.

‡ Accepit hic necessarius tuus.

that even if he gave no verbal evidence of it, his likeness at once proclaims his propinquity to you.

I have lately written you, by Chunrad, the bookseller of Paris, a long letter about those affairs of yours, but have not yet received the letter which you wrote to me from Frankfort, nor one word as yet from Schürer. What torpor has come over him?

We hope you will be back here in August. Meantime make up your mind about finishing the books on the Composition of Epistles,* and about the restoration of Quintilian. We have sent the *Claudius* of Seneca. Froben and his wife Gertrude, the Amerbachs and Nesen, all send their salutations. A greeting for Dinckel. Farewell, most eloquent Sir, and continue your affection for Beatus.

Basel, 30 April, 1515.†

Seneca's discourse on the death of Claudius is mentioned in p. 179. The Dinckellus, to whom Beatus sends his greeting, is probably the same as the Duncellus of Epistle 321. See p. 196.

Another short note, from Bruno Amerbach, dated the day after the last, 1 May, 1515, begs Erasmus to return as soon as possible to Basel. EPISTLE 325. Deventer MS.; C. 1539 (24).

EPISTLE 326. Farrago, p. 196; Ep. vii. 40; C. 135 (155).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I heartily trust you are well. I spent a longer time on my journey than I had reckoned,‡ being detained three days at Ghent by the Prince's Chancellor, and also staying at

* de absolvendis conficiendarum Epistolarum libris. I presume, Erasmus's early work on Letter-writing. C. i. 343. See vol. i. p. 165.

† Basilea 30 Aprilis, Anno 1515. C.

‡ In this clause Erasmus describes his last journey from Antwerp to London, after parting with his correspondent some six weeks before.

Tournay with lord Mountjoy, who is now Governor of that city, and at St. Omer with the Abbot of St. Bertin. The passage was costly and dangerous, but rapid.

My box, which I entrusted to Francis's brother, has not yet been brought here. Nothing could be more unlucky for me, as all the commentaries on Jerome are in it, and if I do not recover it soon, they will have to stop printing at Basel, which will be a great loss to them. If it is an accident, it is a most unfortunate one ; if the box has been kept back on purpose, to get their old Proverbs out first, it is most unkindly done, for there is nothing by which he could have hurt me more. I was going to show the Bishops their books. I now wait on them empty-handed, and take my leave of them empty-handed ; whereas if they had sent the box as they promised, I should have been with you again already.

The two most learned men of all England are now at Bruges, Cuthbert Tunstall, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chancellor, and Thomas More,* to whom I inscribed the *Moria* ; both great friends of mine. If you should have an opportunity of offering them any civility, your services will be well bestowed.

Call Francis's attention to the matters I have mentioned. I hope to be with you again before July. Meantime take care of your health, incomparable friend.

London, 7 May, [1515].†

The following epistle of Bishop Fisher (Epistle 327) was probably written when Erasmus was preparing to leave England again,—on his

* The appointment of Tunstall and More as ambassadors is dated 7 May, 1515. Brewer ii. 422. The above letter appears to show that they were both at this date already at Bruges ; the formal commission may have been sent after them. More became an intimate friend of Gillis, to whom he dedicated the *Utopia*.

† Londini, Nonis Maij. M.D.XIIII. *Farrago*. Sim. *Opus Epistolarum*. As to the year-date, see the last note.

second journey to Basel in June, 1515. In Dr. Reich's arrangement it is attributed to the following year, when we know that Erasmus stayed for a few days with the Bishop of Rochester before he left this country. But he was not then on his way to Basel, and it was not unknown to Fisher that his work there was finished for the present. When he left England in 1515, Erasmus was on his way to Basel, and Bishop Fisher knew it.

Epistle 327. Deventer MS.; C. 1813 (429).

Bishop Fisher to Erasmus.

During the last few days I have read through Rodolphus Agricola's *Dialectic*, having found it for sale at the book-seller's. I was induced to buy it by the praise you bestow on it in your Adages, as I could not but be persuaded, that a writer so much commended by you, and at the same time by Hermolaus,* must be well worth reading. Not to waste words, I never read anything relating to that Art more delightful or more learned, so thoroughly does he seem to dwell upon every point. I wish I had had him for a teacher when I was young; it would certainly be no lie, if I said I should prefer that to any archbishopric. But of this we shall speak when we meet. When you start on your journey to Basel, do come our way, as I have need of your advice. I therefore beg you not to neglect this. May you live long and happy.

Halling, [June, 1515].†

This is the last trace that we have of Erasmus in England during this year; therefore we do not know, whether the Bishop's summons was obeyed. Erasmus appears to have commenced his journey to Basel, as he had proposed, (p. 206) about the end of June.

* Hermolaus Barbarus, a learned Italian, born at Venice in 1454 (about twenty years younger than Agricola), died at Rome in 1495.

† Ex Hallyng. C.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Second journey of Erasmus from England to Basel, June, July, 1515. Sojourn in Basel, July to December, 1515. Labours upon Jerome and the New Testament. Epistles 328 to 365.

In his epistles to the Pope and Cardinals, written from London in March and April, 1515, Epistles 318, 319, 323, Erasmus had said nothing about his intended departure from England. The answers were therefore addressed to this country. In that of Pope Leo, which was dated the 10th of July, 1515,—Epistle 328, *Epistolæ aliquot*, p. 25; Ep. ii. 4; C. 156 (178),—the Pope approved the proposed dedication to himself both of the New Testament and of the Jerome; he also addressed an epistle with the same date to King Henry VIII.—Epistle 329, *Epistolæ aliquot*, p. 27; Ep. ii. 5; C. 157 (179),—recommending Erasmus, whom he supposed to be still residing in England, to the King's favour and liberality. The Pope's epistles were followed or accompanied by an epistle of the Cardinal of St. George, addressed to Erasmus and dated the 18th of July, 1515. Epistle 330, *Opus Epistolarum*, p. 869; Ep. xxii. 13; C. 157 (180). When these important despatches were written, Erasmus had already left England, and by the time that they arrived in that country, he was again at Basel. They were received for him in London by Ammonius, who appears to have kept them by him for a considerable time before he even let Erasmus know of their receipt. See Epistle 347. Some months later, when he had ascertained that his friend was still at Basel, he sent copies of them to that place, which did not arrive until after Erasmus's departure in May, 1516; see Epistle 401. Meantime, without waiting for the expected answers, Erasmus had already (Basel, August, 1515) printed in Froben's press corrected copies of his own Epistles to the Pope and Cardinals. See Epistle 347. The Pope's Epistles to Henry VIII. and Erasmus, with that of the Cardinal of St. George, Epistles 328, 329, 330, were afterwards (October, 1516) printed at Louvain by

Thierry Martens in the volume entitled *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum ad Erasmum et huius ad illum*. See Introduction to vol. i. p. xxviii.

To go back to Erasmus's journey from England to Basel in the summer of 1515, one of his first halts was at Bruges, where More was residing for the time, having a diplomatic commission from the English Government, wherein he was associated with Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall and Dr. Richard Sampson, Dean of the Chapel Royal, to settle some international differences, in which his clients, the merchants of London, were concerned. See note, p. 206. One of the subjects of discussion between Erasmus and More at this meeting was the proposal for his preferment described in the following paragraph.

After leaving Bruges Erasmus visited Tournay, a city which had come into the possession of the English in the late war, and of which lord Mountjoy was now governor. In concert with him Dr. Richard Sampson, whom Erasmus had formerly known at Cambridge, was endeavouring to administer the diocese of Tournay as Vicar General of Wolsey; the latter having been nominated by Henry VIII. to be bishop of that see in opposition to a French bishop-elect, who refused the English allegiance. A vacant canonry in Tournay Cathedral was designed by the Governor and Vicar General for Erasmus, and had been offered to him in Wolsey's name; but it seemed doubtful whether it was worth his while to accept a benefice, the tenure of which would depend upon the disputed title of the bishop, and which he was told would be of little value without residence. When this proposed preferment was mentioned to him during his visit to More at Bruges, he appears to have given his friend the impression that he intended to decline it. More was himself at Tournay a short time after, when he learned that Wolsey had sent word, that he had promised the Canonry elsewhere, not knowing that it had been offered to Erasmus; and in the correspondence between More and Wolsey, the latter undertook to provide for Erasmus some better preferment. Epistles 356, 397.

We learn from other letters (Epistles 331, 342, 358), that Erasmus paused at Cologne, at Spires, and at Strasburg in travelling to Upper Germany. He had further intended to go a little out of his direct course up the valley of the Rhine, in order to visit Freiburg; but the weather and the condition of the roads forbade his making the experiment of a less frequented route. See Epistle 334. He arrived at Basel before the end of July, as is proved by his Preface to Lily's Latin

Grammar, dated at that place, 30 July, 1515; and this book, which he had probably sent to Basel from England, was issued from Froben's press in August. The latter part of his journey had been made on horseback in extremely wet weather, which had continued for several months, many of the roads in the upper Rhine valley being covered with water (see Epistle 334), and the traveller's progress better described as swimming than riding. The poet in return launched an epigram *in Iovem*, whom he denounced as *pessimum infimumque Divûm*. C. i. 1227.

Meantime, the question of the appointment of Erasmus to the vacant Canonry at Tournay appears to have remained open for some weeks, until, on the 22nd of August, Wolsey wrote from Windsor to Dr. Sampson to inform him that he intended to give this preferment to the son of Marcellus, king Henry's surgeon. Brewer, ii. 889. Sampson then wrote to Wolsey, informing or reminding him of the offer made in his name to Erasmus, but submitting the matter to the great man's decision. About the same time, 8 September, 1515, Lord Mountjoy in one of his despatches to Wolsey alludes to this occurrence in the following terms, putting the matter before him very plainly, as it affected himself. It will be observed that the writer retains the spelling of his friend's name, which the latter used, when Mountjoy first made his acquaintance, and which Erasmus had abandoned some years before. See vol. i. p. 37.

*Lord Mountjoy to the Archbishop of York.**

My lord, of late Dr. Sampson, your Vicar General, at my desire gave unto Herasmus a prebend in this church; and since I have been advertised by him, that your Grace would gladly have the same for Marcellus' son, and that you will otherwise provide for Herasmus. There is nothing, neither in this nor in anything else wherein I may do you pleasure or service, but it shall be done assuredly so as to give you all that I may therein; and so shall send Herasmus word,

* Cotton MS. Caligula, E. 2, 81. The above letter is printed, with the original spelling, in an obscure book, which contains a fuller memoir of Lord Mountjoy, than can be found elsewhere. *The Hall of Lawford Hall*, p. 273.

wherewith I doubt not but he will be content, beseeching you to be good lord unto him, should there be some convenient promotion; for in the meantime I must deal with him the more largely of mine own purse.

Tournay, 8 September [1515].

To complete in a few words the story of this insignificant transaction, which is alluded to in several of the Epistles, Erasmus after some months' consideration appears to have made up his mind, that he might as well at any rate accept the offer, and on the 2nd of October, 1515, he wrote to this effect to Ammonius (Epistle 347), at the same time sending to John Desmoulins, a member of the Chapter, Letters of Procuration to act for him on his admission. Before his letter to Desmoulins reached its destination, Wolsey's new nominee had been accepted and admitted by the Chapter, 15 October, 1515 (Brewer ii. 1033); and on the 23rd of November Desmoulins wrote to Erasmus to express the disappointment of himself and his brother-canons at not having Erasmus among their number (Epistle 356).

One of the first letters received by Erasmus at Basel was from Doctor Nicolas Gerbel* of Strasburg, a scholar who assisted in the production of the learned works printed by Matthias Schürer of that city. Erasmus had stopped at Strasburg in his journey, and upon his departure appears to have checked with a jest the profuse expressions of regret, which Gerbel was pouring forth. Meantime he had made an arrangement with Schürer for the publication of a volume, to be entitled *Lucubrationes*, which was to contain the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, with some shorter pieces. The volume, in which the *Enchiridion* had been originally published at Antwerp in 1503, was entitled *Lucubratiunculæ aliquot*. See vol. i. p. 219, ii. 195, 204.

Epistle 331. Deventer MS.; C. 1548 (42).

Nicolas Gerbel to Erasmus.

I dare not either say or write, how much grief I felt at your departure, because I am afraid of your again casting it

* The title of Doctor is given to Gerbel in a letter of Erasmus to Ruser, C. 1625 F.

into my teeth, that I want to air my Latinity or my eloquence, in which I have already shown how poor and barren I am. But enough of this, for I do not believe that Erasmus is so hard, as to turn good into bad, or to think that one who sincerely loves him is a flatterer rather than a friend.

The work entitled *Lucubrationes* is now being fashioned with no common care. As far as possible I give my whole attention to it. I think you will be pleased with our work, and not sorry that you consented to our request. Please take care to let us have the other papers at once, as almost four quires are finished ; and if you have anything by you of the same stamp, which would make the book of a fairer and more saleable size, do pray make trial of your own liberality and of us, and let studious readers have the benefit of your pious zeal.

We have marked several passages in the *Enchiridion*, which are a little beyond the apprehension of boys, for whose use we propose to add some notes at the end of the book, thinking that by this slight service we may add to their pleasure. If you do not disapprove, we will pursue this plan ; if you do, your decision shall stand. Farewell and happily ; and if you love Gerbel, write in answer. Matthias Schürer begs Beatus Rhenanus that he will find time to apply his hand to *Rodolphus* ; for if the book were once corrected, he would not any longer delay its publication. Again farewell.

Strasburg [August,] 1515.

The approximate date of the above letter is shown by that of Epistle 332, and of the little volume of *Lucubrationes*, which bears date *mense Septembri*, 1515. See p. 216. I presume that by *Rodolphus* is meant a collection of the works of Rodolphus Agricola, upon which Beatus appears to have been engaged. See Epistles 181, 327.

Another letter of Gerbel to Erasmus dated, Strasburg, 8 August, 1515, contains some further information, and enquiries about the volume of Lucubrations in Schürer's press. EPISTLE 332, C. 1539 (26).

None of these letters contain anything to satisfy our curiosity as to the remuneration paid by the publisher to the author.

By a letter dated 9 August, 1515, Zasius, writing from Freiburg, welcomes Erasmus on his return to Upper Germany and sends a greeting to Philippus Engentinus (see p. 227). EPISTLE 333. Deventer MS.; C. 1540 (27). This letter is preserved in the Deventer volume; the answer of Erasmus is printed in the *Auctarium Epistolarum*. As to the failure of health, which had been among the reasons for leaving Basel, compare p. 201.

EPISTLE 334. Auctarium, p. 222; Ep. iii. 49; C. 383 (371).

Erasmus to Zasius.

I fully intended to visit Freiburg, principally for your sake. But the road was in such a condition owing to the overflow of the Rhine, that my journey was rather swimming than riding. We are longing to see you; but above all things, my dear Zasius, do take your own health into account. We do not wish this satisfaction of ours to be too costly to you.

When your letter was brought to me, I had been suffering some days with a weakness, becoming gradually more alarming, and very like that which last compelled me to change my locality. But, thank Heaven, I have escaped that danger. I am somewhat parsimonious in writing, but not sparing in affection. Now that we are again in this treadmill, we have a manifold burden to bear. I shall be much pleased to receive the taste which you promise of your work, having no doubt that it is worthy of Zasius, that is of an author no less learned than eloquent. I am aware that your letters are written in haste, as must be the case with one so fully occupied, but it is marvellous how delighted I have been with that happy flow of language, in which brilliancy is not lacking. They are evidence of a fertile genius, which has had no want of exercise. I have no doubt that your work will confirm the impression they have given. But I do not see how I can be

of any use to you in this affair; it is not my province. I promise nevertheless a mind most ready to do what you wish, not in this only, but in any other matter in which you may wish me to perform the part of a friend. Farewell, with all your family, most learned Zasius.

[Basel, August, 1515.]*

Epistle 335, from the Paris printer, further illustrates the relations between author and bookseller. No copyright existed either by law or custom, and Erasmus himself seems to have paid little regard to the interest of the printer to whom he first communicated his copy. The additions to the Adages sent to Bade are mentioned in Epistle 280; but I find no evidence that Bade had as yet published an enlarged edition. The date of Epistle 335, taken from the Deventer Manuscript, is confirmed by the complaint of the writer about the works republished in Germany to his detriment with a new recommendation by the author, which appears to refer to the volumes printed in the previous year by Schürer, one of which,—the new edition of the *Copia* (a work originally printed by Bade),—had a complimentary dedication to its new printer, dated 15 October, 1514. Epistle 302.

Epistle 335. Deventer MS.; C. 1540 (28).

Josse Bade to Erasmus.

Master Erasmus,† most excellent of friends, I have received your letter, which is ample evidence of your accustomed kind feeling for me. God grant that I may some time be as serviceable as I should wish to your honourable requirements. At any rate the disposition is not lacking, and if you give me a hint, it will enable me to have an eye to the future.

Francis dealt honestly with me in the matter of your enlarged Adages. Your other works,‡ with a new recom-

* Anno M.D.XVIII.

† Domine Erasme. *Dominus* was the proper title of a Doctor.

‡ Reliqua tua.

mendation of your own, have been printed in Germany to my detriment. Nevertheless, if this is for your interest or honour, I shall cheerfully put up with it.

Cop and Lefèvre are well, and also your other friends, whom by your letters and learning you have not only conciliated but obliged. Budé is licking into fresh shape his work *de Asse*. A Ruella is fitting Dioscorides for the press. We are restoring Quintilian as well as we can, relying upon a tolerably accurate manuscript, which, when Laurentius Valla was alive, was in his possession. Farewell.

Paris, 20 Aug. 1515.

In the following letter to Wolsey, now Archbishop of York, Erasmus makes no allusion to the Tournay Canonry, as to which he had had no communication from the Archbishop himself.

EPISTLE 336. Farrago, p. 227 ; Ep. viii. 33 ; C. 1565 (74).

Erasmus to Thomas, Archbishop of York.

Most Reverend Prelate, I am sorry I was not permitted to have a longer and more familiar colloquy with your Highness* before leaving England. The sheet-anchor, as they say, of my fortune depended upon you ; but there was Jerome urging me away, a great and famous work and one that, if I am not mistaken, will live for ever, moreover a pious and useful one. My heart is so much in it, that I allow nothing to stand in its way. The journey I have made has always been dangerous on account of robbers, and was never more so than now. The Rhine moreover was swollen with snow and rain, and there were such floods, especially about Strasburg, that it was more like swimming than riding. But I disregarded everything, provided Jerome were pushed forward.

* cum celsitudine tua.

The New Testament is also being printed, in Greek as it was written by the Apostles, and in Latin as translated by me, together with our humble Annotations. Some smaller works have also come out. We are more constantly occupied and more closely interested by these trifles, than you with your important business. When they are finished, we shall hasten our return, especially if your goodness shall meantime arrange something for the refresnment at once of body and of mind, both fatigued by these labours. May Heaven preserve your Reverend Lordship to whom I wholly give and dedicate myself.

Basel, 30 August, [1515].*

On the 31st of August, 1515, Gerbel writes again from Strasburg, reporting progress of the work done at Schürer's press. EPISTLE 337, Deventer MS., C. 1541 (29).

It appears from another letter of Gerbel dated 9 Sept. 1515, —EPISTLE 338, Deventer MS., C. 1541 (30),—that he had promised to come to Basel to assist in some literary work, but was delayed by want of means of conveyance, all the carmen having gone down to the Frankfort fair. In a longer letter two days later he discusses the proposed arrangement of the pages in the New Testament which was to be printed by Froben's press,—EPISTLE 339, Deventer MS., C. 1542 (31),—and proposes to bring with him to Basel ten "Erasmuses," which Schürer was sending as a present to Erasmus. This was the book entitled *Lucubrationes*, printed by Schürer, and dated *mense Septembri*, M.D.XV. Sapidus, the schoolmaster of Schlettstadt (see Epistle 314), in a letter to Erasmus dated from that town, 12 September [1515], EPISTLE 340, Deventer MS., C. 1569 (78), furnishes us with the earliest evidence of the introduction of his writings into the ordinary scholastic curriculum, telling him how delighted his own boys were to be led under Erasmus's wholesome guidance to a knowledge of Latin. We learn from this letter, that John Smith (Joannes Anglus) was at this time with Erasmus at Basel. See p. 92.

* Basileæ. iii. Cal. Septemb. Anno M.D.XVI. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epistolarum.*

By another letter Sapidus introduces Œcolampadius to Erasmus.

EPISTLE 341. Deventer MS.; C. 1543 (32).

Joannes Sapidus to Erasmus.

The bearer of this letter, most excellent Sir, is worthy of enjoying your conversation, on the one hand because he is highly distinguished both for character and learning, and on the other because he longs for nothing so much as to see the face of Erasmus, that is, of the most learned of men. He is called Œcolampadius, which implies a clear admission that he is not a stranger to Greek. His proficiency in theology is shown by this, that his compositions are not only extremely erudite, but have a close relation to godliness. I should add, that he has no slight knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. Pray receive him in such a way that he may feel that, a letter of Sapidus, insipid as it may be, has some weight with you. Our friend Wimpfling sends his heartiest greeting to you; and I trust you will not fail to salute Rhenanus, the Amerbachs and Froben in my name. If you will accept any message from the fair sex, I must add the greetings of our Lucretia; no one has an elder place in my regard; but I see you are breaking into a laugh. Farewell.

Schlettstadt, 15 Sept. 1515.

Sapidus's wife, Margaret, is mentioned more than once in his correspondence with Erasmus, who had probably bantered him on his devotion to an elderly Lucretia. Epistle 366, p. 237.

Erasmus has included in his printed correspondence a letter of John Kierher of Spires, (where Erasmus had stopped on his journey), dated from that place, 16 Sept. 1515.* EPISTLE 342; Farrago, p. 199; Ep. vii. 44; C. 162 (184). By the suggestion of his friend Maternus, the writer asks Erasmus to explain the meaning of a passage in Jerome,

* Spiris. xvi. Cal. Octob. *Farrago;* Anno. M.D.XV. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

which alludes to the *numbers* of marriage, widowhood and virginity. Maternus had consulted theologians on this subject, but was disappointed with the meagreness of their replies, which led him to conclude that they were not accustomed to study the great ecclesiastical authors, but rather to devote their time to minute and frivolous questions! Erasmus found time to reply by Epistle 345.

On the 21st of September, 1515, Zasius addressed a letter to Erasmus, inviting him to be present at the wedding of his daughter on the 2nd of October. EPISTLE 343; Deventer MS.; C. 1543 (33). To this Erasmus wrote the following reply, with which he proposed to send one of the little volumes, entitled *Lucubrationes*, issued by Schürer in the preceding month, of which the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* forms the principal part. See pp. 211, 212.

EPISTLE 344. Farrago, p. 385; Ep. xii. 5; C. 139 (164).

Erasmus to Zasius.

If it were ever in my power to take flight out of this prison, which I should do with the greatest pleasure, I would rather pay you a visit out of wedding time, that I might enjoy you all to myself. In such a crowd how small a part of you would come to my share!

I send the *Enchiridion* as it has just been printed. Both Gerbel and Œcolampadius are here. I pray that your daughter's marriage may bring both pleasure and advantage to you and your family.

[Basel, Sept. 1515.]*

The following letter is the answer of Erasmus to Epistle 342.

EPISTLE 345. Opus Epistolarum; Ep. vii. 45; C. 163 (185).

Erasmus to John Kierher.

Considering that you have so many erudite friends of the greatest learning, I am surprised, most excellent Kierher,

* No date in *Farrago*.

at your thinking it necessary to pay me the compliment of putting this question to me. But what is there so difficult, that my hospitable friend Maternus could not obtain from me by three words, provided only it is something that it is in my power to grant. As to the reckoning of numbers formerly indicated by the motion of the fingers, we propose to print an annotation out of the fragments of Bede, which it would be wearisome to repeat here, as the volume is soon to be issued ; although I do not much care for this intense curiosity about the explanation of numbers; and it is not clear whether the same system mentioned by Jerome prevailed among the Hebrews. The extent of labour and study in which I am engaged prevents my answering for the present at greater length.

Be sure and remember me to Thomas Truchses, a man who is erudite without ostentation, and extremely obliging without any pretence ; also to Maternus, a friend of guileless heart. Farewell, John, no common friend.

Basel [September, 1515].*

A letter of Pirckheimer to Erasmus, dated at Nuremberg, the 1st of October [1515],† EPISTLE 346; Deventer MS.; C. 1571 (83), refers to a former letter sent to England by the English ambassador, which the writer fears has not reached Erasmus. He has paid every attention to the lady recommended to him. He sends his salutations to Beatus, whom he hopes to see at Nuremberg with Erasmus.

The following letter contains in the second clause an allusion to the battle of Marignano, fought on the 14th of September, 1515. Erasmus's recent epistles to the Pope and Cardinals Grimani and Riario (Epistles 318, 319, 323) had been printed by Froben in August. The year date on the title page, 1514, appears to be a misprint.

* Basileæ, Anno M.D.XVI. *Opus Epistolarum.*

† The year date in C. is 1516. But the letter is evidently addressed to Basel, and in October, 1516, Erasmus was, and had been for many months, in Brabant or Flanders.

There is no doubt that the real date was 1515. We learn from the following letter, that Erasmus did not think it necessary to publish such epistles precisely in their original form, and it may be observed that he thinks it expedient to refer to the offer of the Tournay prebend, made by Dr. Sampson, Wolsey's Commissary, as the act of Wolsey himself. See pp. 209, 210.

EPISTLE 347. Farrago, p. 224; Ep. viii. 29; C. 1523 (3).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I have been going on charmingly, until we had this burnt smell from the stoves, which have lately come into use. Jerome is advancing; and they have just now begun the New Testament. I cannot stay on account of the intolerable smell, and I cannot leave on account of work having been begun, which cannot be finished without me.

Our Swiss are very angry with the French for having scattered a number of their men with artillery, instead of politely retreating before them, as they did before the English. They have come back fewer than they went, torn, maimed, wounded, with their colours cut to pieces; and instead of songs of triumph we have lamentations for the dead.

I have had my letter to pope Leo published with some others, after having made it more complete. If there is any answer to it which concerns me much, let me know by letter, but write cautiously. If our health admits, we shall stay here till Christmas; if not, either return to Brabant, or go straight off to Rome.

His Grace of York has presented me with a prebend at Tournay, but it will be a worthless present, if a revolution takes place. His commissary was excommunicated in Flanders by bills publicly placarded, so great is the reverence there shown to the Archbishop. The Bishop of the place is alive, hale and triumphant, a learned and influential nobleman. Never-

theless I have accepted the preferment, since there will be no difficulty in losing it.

I want a copy of your Epigrams, if I can have them, as I have already told you. You will readily excuse this letter, if you are aware with what labours of the same kind I am overwhelmed. Farewell, most learned Ammonius, and pray be the same to Erasmus as you have always been.

Basel, 2 Oct. [1515].*

The following lively letter was written after supper on the Feast of St. Gall.

EPISTLE 348. Scriverius, p. 160; Ep. xxx. 24; C. 1637 (194).

Erasmus to Wilibald Pirckheimer.

I think there is some spell upon my mind that makes me so inordinately fond of my Wilibald. Beatus Rhenanus could tell you how, when I had scarcely dipped into the little book which you translated, I conceived forthwith a warm liking for you, which now, both from the letters you have sent me and from other tokens of your genius and learning, receives some addition every day. You are indeed the Phœnix of this age, uniting such singular erudition with a brilliant fortune, and this again with so much courtesy and good nature as to be willing to enroll such humble individuals as myself among your friends. A little book translated by you was put before me at Bruges, on my return from England, by Thomas More, who was then employed in our country as an envoy from his king and people. No letter was mentioned. He only added incidentally that the book was sent for me, without explaining through whom. I suspect you entrusted your letter to Sir Robert Wingfield.†

* Basileæ. postridie Calend. Octob. *Farrago*; Anno M.D.XIII. *add. Opus Epist.*

† D. Roberto Wimphildo.

But as he often recognised me while in England, and one day had a long talk with me, I wonder he never said a word about it. By the compliments you have paid me, which, were I ever so conceited, I could not possibly acknowledge, you have at any rate succeeded in making me a little less dissatisfied with myself. We are overwhelmed here with a twofold burden, either of which needs, not an Erasmus, but a Hercules. Beside minor labours, we have on our shoulders Jerome, and the New Testament, which is now being printed.

The lady whom I recommended to you from Mechlin is the sister of the person to whom I dedicated the *Enchiridion*.* That work has lately been printed at Strasburg; and I have added a commentary on the first Psalm, dedicated to Beatus Rhenanus, than whom I have no more faithful friend.† I was going to send you the book, but am told that it has been already conveyed to you.

I am writing this, not only worn out with incredible labours, but summoned from supper by warning of the departure of the messenger. I will only add, that however Erasmus may be surpassed in erudition and in fortune, he will never yield even to the unconquered Wilibald in devotion and love. When I have leisure, as I hope I shall soon have, I will treat you, not to mere epistles but to whole volumes. Beatus Rhenanus,—quite a Pythagorean friend, that is μιά ψυχὴ, one soul,—was pleased to receive your greetings, and returns them with interest. Farewell, chief glory of the literary world.

Basel, the birthday of St. Gall, late at night. 16 Oct. [1515.] ‡

* See vol. i. pp. 339, 340.

† The Commentary on the Psalm, *Beatus vir*, was printed by Schürer with the *Enchiridion* in the volume entitled *Lucubrationes*. See pp. 194, 212.

‡ No year date in Scriverius. Anno 1517 C.

With an epistle dated 19 October [1515] EPISTLE 349, Deventer MS., C. 1777 (289), Wolfgang Angst of Kaisersberg, corrector of the press in the printing-office of Anshelm at Hagenau (in Alsace), sends to Erasmus a copy of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum virorum*, lately printed at that press. This book, like others of that period, appears to have had some circulation before it was printed; and the writer of the letter calls to mind, how his correspondent had repeated from memory some of its choicest passages, when he was at Strasburg.

Epistle 350, addressed by More to Dorpius, from Bruges, and dated 21 Oct. [1515], is a pamphlet of some length in answer to Epistle 304, in which Dorpius had lamented the publication by Erasmus of the *Moria*, and deprecated his proposed work on the New Testament. I do not propose to translate this pamphlet; but it may be worth while to call attention to one passage, which bears upon an obscure period of the life of the writer, and upon his opinion of the training to be obtained in the foreign and English Universities of the time.

EPISTLE 350. *Erasmi Epist.* Londin. *Auct. ex Moro*, p. 14; C. 1891 (513).

More to Dorpius.

* * * * *

I do not think there can be any doubt, what is Erasmus's feeling about the Universities, in which he has studied and taught, not Grammar only, but many other things more important to all Christians. Who does not know how long he resided at Paris, and how much he was esteemed there, as also at Padua and Bologna, not to speak of Rome, which I regard as the chief of all Academies? Oxford and Cambridge have that love for him, which is due to one who has passed some time in both with great profit to students and great credit to himself. Both invite him to return, both are desirous of transplanting him into the number of their own theologians, as he has already obtained that degree else-

where. I do not know what may be your estimate of our Universities, when you attribute so much importance to Paris and Louvain, that you seem to leave nothing at all for the rest of mankind, especially with regard to Logic; for you say that, but for the theologians of those Universities, the Dialectic science would for many ages have been banished from the world. Seven years ago I saw something of both those Academies. My visits were not long, but while there, I took some pains to know, what subjects were taught in each, and what was the manner of teaching. And although I respect them both, I have not found, by what I heard when I was there or by enquiry from others, any reason to prefer, that my own children, for whose education I wish to do my best, should be taught in either of them rather than at Oxford or at Cambridge. I will not however deny, that our students owe much to James Lefèvre of Paris, who has been welcomed everywhere by the happier intellects and saner judgments among us, as the restorer of true Dialectic and true Philosophy, especially that founded upon Aristotle. By his teaching Paris may seem in some sort to repay an old obligation to our own country, by reviving among us lessons originally received from us,—an admitted obligation, which even Gaguin,—no detractor from the glory of France or trumpeter of that of England,—has commemorated in his Annals. It is much to be wished that the students of Louvain and also of Paris would all accept the commentaries of Lefèvre upon Aristotle's Dialectic. Their teaching, if I am not mistaken, would be less controversial and more accurate.

* * * * *

Bruges, 21 October [1515].†

Epistle 351 is the first letter, in this correspondence, of Ulrich von Hutten, who writes from Worms on his way to Rome.

† No year-date in *Epist. Lond.* 1642.

EPISTLE 351. Deventer MS. ; C. 1573 (86).

Ulrich von Hutten to Erasmus.

The gods, I think, are all against me. It has been their will, that for many years I should never be with you. They tear me from your side, to which, had Fortune permitted it, I should have stuck more closely than Alcibiades to Socrates. For why should I not call you the Socrates of Germany? You have done us as good service as he did to Greece. Perhaps I am not such a person as would be altogether to your taste ; to be so would be a rare privilege. But I should not have been unworthy of studying Greek literature at your feet, of following you with zeal, of guarding you with vigilance and observing you with reverence. I should have carried out all your commands, and been silent on the slightest hint. German knight as I am, the marvellous assiduity, the incredible fidelity, with which I should have waited upon you, would have become you well. I should have preferred this, not only to the Court life to which, much to my annoyance, I have been called, but even, so help me Heaven, to this Italian pilgrimage.

I had lately resolved to go to you, and should perhaps have followed you as far as England, but my salutary design was frustrated by the inconvenient liberality of my family ; for liberality they call it, when they supply me with funds for learning law, and it is for that purpose I am now sent to Rome. I write you this on my journey, in the midst of a noisy party. Excuse haste ; I shall not have time to look it over. I go unwillingly where I shall not be able to see and enjoy you. My companions could not be persuaded to go by Basel ; no wonder, when your divinity is not recognised by all ! You will see the thing I have published,

called *Nemo*,—a poem, I hope, not altogether to be despised ; in the Preface I felt bound to make honorable mention of you.

If I had come to Basel, I should have begged you to give me some introduction at Rome, and, with your good-nature you would not have refused me this favour. If you have time and are writing to Rome, pray commend me to some one of the learned class, with whom I shall not scratch mules or stroke horses, but be occupied with books. No time for more. Farewell.

Worms, 24 Oct [1515].

The above letter, in the Deventer manuscript from which it is taken, has the year-date, 1516, added by a later hand. Kan, *Erasmiana*, p. 6. Erasmus was at Basel in October, 1515, but not in October, 1516, and this letter was evidently addressed to that place. Epistle 584, written by Hutten at Bamberg, after his return from Italy, is dated, 21 July, 1517. C. 1617 (153).

Among the letters of this period is one, dated 30 Oct. 1515, from Paul Voltz, Abbot of Haugshofen near Schlettstadt in Alsace. EPISTLE 352. Deventer MS. ; C. 1543 (34). To this correspondent, from whom we have another letter a few weeks later (Epistle 357, p. 229), and who is mentioned in Epistle 375, Erasmus at a later time addressed an eloquent letter on the subject of practical piety and dogmatic theology, which was prefixed to an edition of the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* printed at Louvain in 1518. C. 337 (329). Voltz in later days was a leader of the Reformed Church, when the Reformation was prevalent at Strasburg. He was a legatee under the will of Erasmus.

In EPISTLE 353, dated Freiburg, 30 Oct. 1515, Deventer MS.; C. 1544 (35), Zasius tells Erasmus, that he has received by the bearer Acchatius his correspondent's salutation, without any letter, and that Gerbel has sent him a copy of some of Erasmus's works, including the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. See pp. 211, 212. He is so busy with his commentary upon *Lex II. de Origine Juris*, that he cannot spare a moment for anything else, when clear of his lecture.

Epistle 354 is a short undated* letter of Erasmus to Zasius, *Auctarium*, p. 225; Ep. iii. 50; C. 286 (289), probably sent to satisfy the wish for a letter, suggested by Epistle 353. The writer is quite overwhelmed with his work on Jerome and the New Testament, but must find a moment to send his greetings. He refers to his letter conveyed by Philip (Epistle 344), by whom he had also sent a copy of the *Enchiridion*. This Philip was probably the same person as Philippus Engentinus, who appears to have been at Basel in August, and is mentioned by Zasius in Epistle 333. Philippus Engentinus, qui non est vexator minus, is commemorated in a '*Carmen Rithmicale*' in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*.

The following letter is believed to contain the first notice of a proposal on the part of the ministers of the young archduke Charles to appoint Erasmus to the position of Councillor at the Burgundian court. If this is so, we may conclude that it was in or before the month of November, 1515, that this appointment was proposed. The earliest mention of the matter in any remaining letter of Erasmus is in Epistle 379, dated at Basel, 24 Feb. 1516. In his letter to Pope Leo, 9 Aug. 1516, (Epistle 434), it is stated that the office was conferred upon him when he was away from Brabant, and that on his return a benefice was also offered to him. This latter offer was probably made in the beginning of June, 1516. In the *Compendium Vitæ* his appointment as Councillor is mentioned in connection with his leaving England. See p. 11.

Epistle 355. Deventer MS.; C. 1544 (36).

John Borssele to Erasmus.

Your letter written on the first of October was delivered to me a few days ago, not by the person to whom you entrusted it to be brought here, but sent on from Louvain, to which place it had been taken. Consequently I had no opportunity of meeting anyone from whom I might make the enquiries I wished to make about you; and I am afraid the loss of time may prevent this reaching you before you leave Basel.

* Epistle 354 was published without date in *Auctarium Epistolarum*, 1518. In a later publication the words, *Anno* M.D.XVII. were added.

I beg, if you have any opportunity of writing to me again, that you will inform me more fully about your writings, and also to what place you propose to go when you leave Basel. For I hear news from Brabant by several letters of friends, that an honorable provision for passing your life where you please in that country is ready for your acceptance, with a respectable annual salary from the Prince's Treasury, and that all the learned are hoping you will accept the terms without grudging. If not, it will be thought, not that you have been neglected by our countrymen, as we have always hitherto complained, but that you neglect and despise our own country, unless indeed you refuse it upon the offer of some more dignified and honorable position elsewhere. But whatever is to take place, if you have made up your mind, I should like to know it. For you wrote to me, that you would be at Basel until December, and did not add where you propose to go from thence; and I have therefore, in common with your other friends, the greatest hope, that you will come on the terms proposed to Brabant, there to spend the rest of your life in the greatest glory and tranquillity. May I be permitted to see the day! * *

Arlon, 21 Nov. 1515.†

John Desmoulins, himself a Canon of Tournay, had been appointed by Erasmus to be his proctor, to do what might be necessary for the acceptance of the prebend, which it was proposed to offer him there.

Epistle 356. Deventer MS.; C. 1545 (37).

John Desmoulins to Erasmus.

My lord of York has availed himself of the privilege of a courtier, and has changed his tune. He has conferred the

† Ex Arluno, oppido terræ Lutzenburch, 21 Novembr, Anno 1515. C.

Canonry, which had been given to you, upon another person, a son of the King's surgeon, whose title however will not, I think, be clear of dispute, if any change takes place. Nevertheless the Archbishop has promised to give you either another Canonry here, or something better in England, as Mountjoy has personally explained to me, though in promises of that kind anybody might be rich. He also told me that he was going soon to England, and wanted me to let you know it. I will still keep your mandate, or procuration as they call it, in case any occasion should arise for using it on your behalf. * * *

Tournay, 23 Nov. 1515.

In a letter to Erasmus dated Nov. 25, 1515, EPISTLE 357, Deventer MS.; C. 1546 (38), Paul Voltz, the Abbot of Haugshofen (see p. 226) writes about the meaning of a passage in the Preface to Ezekiel, as found in the copies of the Bible then in use.

Joannes Cæsarius writes to Erasmus from Cologne, Dec. 3 [1515], EPISTLE 358, Deventer MS.; C. 1578 (93), referring to his having lately made his correspondent's acquaintance on his visit to that place. He hears that Glarean has returned from Italy and is now enjoying Erasmus's society. The year-date added in the Deventer manuscript is 1516, but the allusion to Glarean's return appears to show that it was addressed to Erasmus while he was still at Basel.

EPISTLE 359. Deventer MS.; C. 1546 (39).

Pirckheimer to Erasmus.

I have again received a most charming and welcome letter from you, and am under no small obligation to you for bearing me in mind in spite of your being so busy. I was disappointed at my letter with the book delivered to you, because I had expressed in it the pleasure I felt at having made so agreeable and valuable an acquaintance. I

also requested you to shew me, as you had promised by our Beatus to do, the errors you may find in my Plutarch. This I still beg you to do, and do not doubt you will do it with all sincerity. I gave that letter to Sir Robert Wingfield; but he has ever since followed the movements of the Court. You have perhaps spoken meantime with his brother, who also sometimes acts as his King's minister with the Emperor.

I am glad St. Jerome has at last found some one to restore him to his original splendour; which, I deem, has not come to pass without the special interposition of Providence. Happy you, who by these labours of yours will become dearer to God, to the Saints, and to mankind. * * *

One thing I especially desire, that I may sometime see you face to face; and in this you may easily gratify me, when you have finished your Jerome. I know you will not be sorry to have seen such a commonwealth as exists no where else in Germany, and a friend who loves and respects you more than all the world beside. Meantime farewell.

Nuremberg, 13 Dec. 1515.

In a letter of Zasius to Erasmus written at Freiburg the 16th of December, 1515, EPISTLE 360, Deventer MS; C. 1547 (40), the writer incloses two sheets of his Commentary on the Institutes, which are to be retained or rejected in his proposed work according to his correspondent's judgment, whose labour in the matter he proposes to compensate with an adequate honorarium. He apologizes for a carelessly written letter, as he is much pressed with business even on a Sunday,—in hoc ipsissimo Dominico die. The letter is subscribed in Le Clerc's edition, Ex Friburgo 15 Decembr. Anno 1515; but the original letter preserved in the Deventer Library bears date 17 Kal. Ian. 15. This gives the date, 16 December, 1515; and as, with Easter on the 8th of April, the 16th of December in that year fell on a Sunday, the latter date is confirmed by the words above quoted.

EPISTLE 361. Farrago, p. 235; Ep. viii. 46; C. 1651 (224).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

Galeazzo, the bearer of this letter, who is flying over to England as envoy of the Milanese, is obliged to return this way in a month. We shall stay here till the beginning of March. Please write to me by him, if there is anything I ought to know. My lord of York has regaled me with a pretty dream about the Tournay Canonry; I am more annoyed by the ridicule than the loss.

The New Testament is almost finished. It will amount to nearly eighty folios, and is to be dedicated to Leo.

Pace is in this country, but I have only spoken to him by letter. Farewell, and write.

Basel, 23 December, [1515].*

By the same opportunity Erasmus wrote to the Bishop of Chieti, who was still in England. See pp. 115, 116.

EPISTLE 362. Farrago, p. 182; Ep. vii. 12; C. 1534 (16).

Erasmus to Peter Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti, Apostolic Nuncio in England.

Reverend Father, I was conscious,—very conscious,—but too late, of my mistake about your present. I had exhorted you to give me, not only your favour, but your help; and what I meant of literature and learning, you supposed to be said of money. I cannot tell you, how often I have since felt ashamed of what took place.

The New Testament is almost finished, and finished happily

* Basileæ. Decimo Calen. Ianua. An. M.D.XVII. *Farrago.*

enough, except that I am being killed with the work. I have a friend to help me with the Hebrew. The size of the book will amount to nearly eighty folios. I have determined to dedicate it to Leo X. I suppose you have seen my Epistle addressed to him, in which I made mention of you, as it is in print. Jerome is going on steadily, but it is an immense work. Farewell.

Basel, 23 December, [1515].*

Another letter of Zasius to Erasmus dated from Freiburg the 26th of December, 1515, is preserved in the Deventer collection of Manuscripts. EPISTLE 363. C. 1547 (41). Froben has just arrived in the evening, and is to depart early the next day. Zasius must send his greetings to the great Erasmus, to whom he wishes to show his work, though he cannot expect it to be of interest to him. Erasmus returns a complimentary reply.

EPISTLE 364. Farrago, p. 385 ; Ep. xii. 4 ; C 135 (162).

Erasmus to Zasius.

I have scarcely had time to read your letter, my Zasius, than which however nothing could be sweeter. What is my opinion of your book? I will tell you in a word. It is Zasian, that is, most perfect, well worthy of being communicated to the wide world ; to which end we will help as soon as we have time ; and time we shall have within two months ; though by citing Aquinas so frequently you have soiled the splendour of your diction. But I know to whom you will attribute that, and I tolerate it. Otherwise I should prefer a continuance of that course of Zasian diction and uninterrupted flow of speech. You quote Erasmus too lovingly, that is, you exaggerate his merit. Farewell.

I have a singular regard for Boniface for more reasons

* Basileæ. decimo Calen. Ianuar. *Farrago.* M.D.XIIII. *add. Opus Epist.*

than one, and have conceived the highest hopes of him. I send, with this, another note written to you some time ago, but left here by the servants' forgetfulness.

Beatus approves your book; take care and finish it. If it can be done, I should like the passages which you cite from unpolished authors to be invested with a touch of Zasian elegance. Farewell again.

[Basel, Dec. 1515.] *

The note sent with this letter was probably Epistle 344, which follows in *Farrago*, p. 385. The Boniface mentioned in the same clause may be assumed to be Boniface Amerbach. See pp. 161, 163.

In a letter from Gerbel to Erasmus, which has the added year-date 1515, and was probably written towards the close of this year, the writer solicits employment for Schürer's Press. EPISTLE 365. Deventer MS.; C. 1548 (43).

* No date in *Farrago*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Continued residence at Basel. Publication of the New Testament, of the Works of Jerome, and of the Institutio Principis. *January to May*, 1516. *Epistles* 366 *to* 396.

EARLY in November, 1515, Sapidus had found time to visit the literary society at Basel, to which he had introduced Œcolampadius some weeks before. See Epistle 341, p. 217. Returning about Martinmas (11 November)* to the routine of his scholastic work, he had addressed a Latin poem to the group of scholars associated with Erasmus,—among whom he mentioned Lystrius, Bruno and Basil (Amerbach), Beatus Rhenanus, Froben, Nesen, Glarean, Œcolampadius, Gerbel and Retius Fontinus,—whose happy companionship is contrasted with his own dull life, inter ignarum vulgus ludique popellum. We have not the exact date of this effusion. It is printed, in the Basel edition of the Epistles of Erasmus, before Epistle 366,—which conveyed Erasmus's answer to it,—and after some verses of Hermanus Buschius and two poems of Glarean, which follow a letter of Glarean to Erasmus of a somewhat later date, wherein they are mentioned, Epistle 452. A letter of Sapidus which probably accompanied his poem, and which expressed some discontent with his scholastic work, has not been preserved. The answer of Erasmus vindicates the utility and importance of his correspondent's profession.

EPISTLE 366. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 170; Ep. i. 35; C. 1581 (96).

Erasmus to Joannes Sapidus.

Your poem, most learned Sapidus, was as singularly welcome to our whole company as you are yourself singu-

* Sapidus returned from Basel to Schlettstadt about this date, as he was the bearer of a letter from Erasmus to Wimpfling, dated on the eve of St. Martin, which has not been preserved, but is mentioned in Epistle 357.

larly dear. To myself it was certainly not disagreeable, but it could not be a positive pleasure, as one cannot at the same time be delighted and ashamed,—unless perhaps you think me so brazen-faced that I could read all those eulogies of yours without a blush. There is one thing for which I must take you to task; you congratulate so many learned and no less sincere friends on their intimacy with me, and do not congratulate me upon their society, as if I were less happy in this respect than they. For to myself I seem to be living in some charming sanctuary of the Muses, where a multitude of learned persons, and learned in no common fashion, appears a thing of course. No one is ignorant of Latin; none of Greek; most of them know Hebrew. This excels in the study of History, that is deeply versed in Theology; one is skilled in Mathematics, another is a student of Antiquity, and another is learned in the Law. Certainly up to this time it has never been my good fortune to live in such an accomplished society. But not to dwell upon that, what a sincere friendship prevails among them all, what cheerfulness, what concord! You would swear they had only one mind among them. Neither is there any reason for you to grieve at your absence from the table. To speak in Plato's fashion, you are there as much as anybody. We have no dinner, no supper, no walk, no talk, without Sapidus.

As for your vocation, I admit it is laborious, but I utterly deny that it is a tragic, as you call it, or deplorable position. To be a schoolmastsr is next to being a king. Do you reckon it a mean employment to imbue the minds of your fellow-citizens in their earliest years with the best Letters and with the love of Christ, and to return them to their country honest and virtuous men? In the opinion of fools it is a humble task, but in fact it is the noblest of occupations. For if even among the heathen it was always an illustrious thing to deserve well of the Commonwealth, no

one, I will boldly say, serves it better than the moulder of unfashioned boyhood, provided he be learned and honest, two qualities which are so equally matched in you, that I know not in which you surpass yourself.

As to the diminution of your salary, Christ himself will recompense you abundantly ; and goodness is its own ample reward. Neither should your mind be disturbed, when you see so large an income awarded at the public expense to the lazy leisure of individuals, who live for their own pleasure, or wait upon their Prince without any advantage to the public ; while he who is the common parent of all the children, and in the most necessary of all matters exerts himself to the utmost in the public service, is paid with so poor a salary. Such an office demands an upright and incorruptible man, who would take delight in his pious work even without any pay, while a high salary and a position of dignity would attract the meanest characters. You will yourself, my Sapidus, add by your accomplishments a dignity to the office, which, if it be of little repute among men, is surely of the highest account with Christ.

There is no reason why you should be jealous of our literary society at Basel. Schlettstadt has also its shrine of the Muses, perhaps a little less frequented. But you have one man in Paul Voltz, the Abbot of Haugshofen,* whom you may set against a multitude. Good Heavens ! what purity of mind, what sincerity of character, what a prudent simplicity, what an ardour for study, and with such accomplishments what an utter absence of pride ! Such I conceive to have been the character of those ancient religious leaders, Antony, Hilary, and Jerome. If you number your company, I admit you are few ; but if you weigh them, one such man may count for many. Please let him know, that I

* Curiensem abbatem. I am indebted for the German name to Mr. Reich, *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, p. 172.

do not forget him. Be sure to remember me also to your sweetest wife, the effectual comfort of your toils, Margaret, fairer than any pearl. Farewell.

Basel, [January] 1516.*

There is no evidence to fix precisely the date of the above letter. The verses mentioned in the first clause were written while Glarean and Œcolampadius were at Basel. The latter joined the party in September, 1515.†

On the 11th of January, 1516, Augustinus Aggeus, physician, writing from Paris,—EPISTLE 367; Deventer MS.; C. 1549 (45)—alludes to a time, when he left Erasmus in England to go with Sixtinus to his own country, which he found ravaged by war, and which we may conclude to have been Friesland. The departure of Sixtinus, at a time when the plague was rife in England, is mentioned in Epistle 265, p. 86.

Andrew Hochstraten writes to Erasmus from Liège,—11 Jan. [1516] EPISTLE 368; Deventer MS.; C. 1590 (111),—reminding him of his visit to that city more than a year before (see p. 154), acknowledging a letter received from him, dated the 5th of October last (accompanied by a present), inviting him to visit the writer on his return from Basel, and mentioning that Jerome Aleander is living at Liège as a Canon of the Cathedral and Chancellor of the Bishop. We may well conjecture that the present sent to Hochstraten on the 5th of October, 1515, was one of his copies of the *Enchiridion*, then just reprinted by Schürer in a little volume, together with Erasmus's commentary on the Psalm, *Beatus vir*. Compare pp. 211, 216, 222.

* Basileæ. *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes.* M.D.XVI. *add. Opus Epist.*

† Dr. Reich dates Epistle 366 after 11 April, 1516, the date of the letter of Sapidus (Epistle 386) inclosing the verses entitled *Certamen de Origine Roterodami*. C. 1556. But Epistle 366 does not refer to those verses, but to the lines addressed at an earlier date to the literary circle at Basel, which are printed immediately before this letter in *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* and the other collections published by Erasmus, and also in the London edition, pp. 77-80. The confusion has arisen from the Leiden editor (C. 201) having altered the old arrangement of the epistles without observing this sequence.

James Wimpfling writes from Schettstadt on the 15th of January, 1516,—EPISTLE 369; Deventer MS.; C. 1550 (46),—to enquire for news of his friends, Erasmus, Œcolampadius and Beatus Rhenanus, being prevented by gout from coming to Basel, although the Bishop had sent a mule with a servant to fetch him.

EPISTLE 370 is a complimentary letter written by Nicolaus Basellius, a monk of Hirschau, to Erasmus (busy with Jerome at Basel) dated *Ex Palladiario nostro Hyrsaugiano, Anno* 1516. Deventer MS.; C. 1585 (101).

Nicolas Gerbel, the corrector of Schürer's press, writes to Erasmus on the 21st of January, 1516,—EPISTLE 371; Deventer MS; C. 1550 (47),—concerning the volume of *Lucubrationes* about to be published (see p. 211), for which he had expected Erasmus to send a corrected copy of his *Parabolæ* or *Similia*. He was also hoping to receive from him some *argumenta* for Virgil's Æneid, and for some work of Cicero,—probably Erasmus's edition of the *De Officiis*, which was reprinted by several publishers. He sends salutations from Jøhn Rudolfing.

It appears to have been about this time, while Erasmus was busy at Basel, that he received the offer of a professorship at Ingolstadt, where there was a University under the patronage of Ernest, duke of Bavaria, which had been founded by duke Lewis the Rich in 1472. He was further invited, if he declined the professorship, to make at any rate a journey to that country and to spend a month in visiting the University and the Court. In case of his accepting office, a yearly salary was promised of two hundred golden florins (*aurei*) besides wealthy church preferment. If he made only a visit, he was to receive his travelling expenses, and a handsome present besides. These proposals were conveyed to him by a double letter (or a letter with postscript) not dated in the printed copies, but probably written in January, 1516, addressed by Urbanus Regius (Rieger) on behalf of the duke and of Dr. Leonard Eck, the President of the University, to Johannes Faber of Basel. EPISTLES 372, 373. *Epistolæ aliquot*, h. ii. iii; Ep. ix. 17, 18; C. 227 (229, 230). See further, as to this matter, Epistles 379, 380.

The dedication to Pope Leo X. of Erasmus's edition of the New Testament with a revised Latin translation, is dated at Basel the 1st of February, 1516. EPISTLE 374. *Novum Instrumentum*, p. 1; Ep. xxix.

79; C. vi. Præf. It contains a laboured eulogy of Archbishop Warham, with whom Erasmus appears to have had some correspondence, possibly through his secretary, concerning the proposed dedication of this important work, which was originally intended to be inscribed to the Archbishop.

On the 3rd of February, 1516, Erasmus sent the following short letter to Wimpfling in answer to the inquiries contained in Epistle 369. This letter is not in any of the collections of Erasmus's Epistles, but was printed about two years after its date, and reprinted in a collection of the eighteenth century.*

Epistle 375. Bapt. Mantuani Fasti; Riegger, Amœnitates Liter. p. 478.

Erasmus to Wimpfling.

Yes! We are all alive and well, and remember and love you, and expect you here, if you can come without inconvenience. The New Testament is hastening to the goal; and Jerome advancing at a fair pace. I am surprised at the judgment of Sapidus; whoever put such an opinion into his head, was no better than a fool. I had rather have half a line of the Mantuan than three myriads of Marullus.

Do take care and get well, and drive away that gout of yours,—itch and all! I have written to Abbot Voltz; but the letter was lost; by whose fault I do not know.

This I write that you may not grumble at my not writing at all. Farewell. You are greeted by our whole company, all learned men, me of course excepted, and all, including me, very much attached to you.

Basel, the morrow of Candlemas, 3 February, [1516].†

* *Baptistæ Mantuani Carmelitæ Theologi Fastorum libri xii*, Schürer, 1518. (Panzer, vi. 86, 522); Riegger, *Amœnitates Literariæ*, 1779, p. 478. I am indebted for these references to Mr. Reich, *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, 1896, p. 176.

† Basileæ postridie Purificationis. An. xvii. *Amœnitates Literariæ.*

On the 10th February, 1516, Archbishop Warham sent by Thomas Bedill, his secretary, a message to Erasmus approving of his resolution to dedicate his New Testament to the Pope. EPISTLE 376. Deventer MS; C. 1551 (49). By the same letter he was informed, that the Archbishop had written to Maruffo to send him his pension without delay. See Epistle 396.

The following letter of Ammonius, Epistle 377, was printed with Epistles 366, 372, and 373 in one of the early collections published under the authority of Erasmus himself, *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes.* It may be observed that Ammonius speaks of the Italian prelate, Silvester de Giglis, who held the See of Worcester and acted as agent of the English Government at the Papal Court, as his old patron. We may conjecture that it was by this bishop's advice that Ammonius had been led to seek his fortune in England. Epistle 377 was sent to Pace in Germany, to be forwarded to Erasmus. See Epistle 414, p. 291.

EPISTLE 377. Epist. s.q. eleg. p. 228; Ep. ii. 7; C. 233 (236).

Andreas Ammonius to Erasmus.

With what victims shall I expiate my crime in not replying to two letters of my Erasmus before I received a third? I would rather confess my guilt than make foolish excuses, though there are some, I think, not quite foolish. The fact is, I was afraid of throwing away work, of which, busy as I am, I must needs be sparing, when it was uncertain where you could be written to, as you hinted that you were going to take wing from Germany, first in the beginning of November, when you were disgusted with the smell of the stoves, and afterwards as soon as Christmas was over; while you did not seem to have decided whether you would go to Rome, or return hither, or betake yourself to Venice. Therefore before writing to you I waited to be informed, where you were to be found. Meantime, nevertheless, in case of your going to Rome, I took great pains to recommend you to my old patron, the bishop of Worcester, our King's envoy there. From him (and indeed from the very

pillars of the palace) you would have learned at once, how kindly disposed the Pope is to you ; and you would have been carried off to his Holiness without delay. If on the other hand you had preferred Britain to Italy, we should have met, and what need of any letter? But now that you have put off your departure from Basel to the beginning of March, as you say, but as I now guess to the beginning of May , I have made up my mind to risk this small amount of work.

Well then, about the things which I think you ought to know, this is what I have to tell. I received three letters, or briefs as they call them, from the Pope ; two addressed to you with the same contents, and another to the King, by which you are recommended very earnestly to him, as you will see by the copy sent. Those addressed to you I took, as a friend, the liberty of opening, being very anxious to know what encouragement they contained. I now send one of them with a copy of the commendatory brief ; the brief itself, with the other letter, I keep carefully for you. If you do not return hither, let me know what you wish to be done with the brief. You will say, this might have been settled for you before, and will perhaps think that the letter will by that time be too old to be delivered to the King. But believe me, it will be just the same as if the matter were fresh, for details of this kind are scarcely ever attended to, unless in the case of a bill upon which money is payable.

Moreover the Bishop of Worcester has written to me, that Leo was wonderfully cheered by your letter, and inquired with much interest, where you were, what you were about, and whether the Bishop thought you would be willing to come to him, with many other signs of an affectionate regard for you ; and that he afterwards turned to some very learned and eminent persons who happened to be by, and handed them your letter, adding his own opinion of your rare genius and learning, and that thereupon they

all vied with each other, which should praise you most. For the old habit still continues, to admire and praise men of genius, and nothing more ; though our Leo does indeed also cherish and enrich them, and his favour affords the greatest hope for scholars. Looking to your advantage, I would have you lose no time in going to his Court, though, if I regard my own pleasure, I should wish you to fly back here. May God give success to whatever course you adopt.

As to Jerome, I have no doubt it has been labour well bestowed, and look eagerly for the appearance of the book. Your corrected Seneca is now on sale here. Shall I tell you what I think of it? You seem to have followed the example of Apelles in painting his Venus. With your New Testament I am myself delighted, and give you joy of it. In my opinion it is not only a most religious work, but one which demands the attention of everyone, full of mind and learning, worthy in the first place of you, and also of the Pontiff to whom you have determined to dedicate it. All honour to your genius ! You have found the way to immortality.

About the dream with which you say you have been gratified by my lord of York, and by which you think you have been been befooled, I wish you had been more explicit. However, as to his making sport of you, nothing is further from his character ; indeed I am sure he esteems you highly. But something has happened without his intending it, which perhaps may still be set right.

Having finished what I have to write for the present about your own matters, I will add a few lines of English news. The Queen has given birth to a lively little daughter.* Your friend the Archbishop of Canterbury has obtained the King's leave to resign the office of Chancellor, which the Archbishop of York has been pressed to accept, and discharges its duties most nobly.† More is returned home

* The princess Mary was born, 8 February, 1516.

† The great seal was delivered to Wolsey 22 December, 1515.

from his friends in Flanders, having fulfilled his mission with great credit. He now haunts with us the smoky chambers of the Palace. No one is more punctual in carrying his morning salutation to my lord of York. Pace may be congratulated on his successful proceedings in your part of the world. For myself I am not well, but not so ill as I might be. If only we could keep our health ! Do, my Erasmus, attend carefully to that.

London, 17 Feb [1516].*

We see in the above lines, that the writer was conscious of a failure in his own health. He lived for about a year and a half after the date of this letter.

In a letter of Zasius to Erasmus, dated at Freiburg, 20 Feb. 1516,—Epistle 378, Deventer MS., C. 1552 (50),—the writer introduces his two sons-in-law, and incloses some complimentary verses upon the completion of the New Testament.

The invitation of Erasmus to the Bavarian University has been mentioned, Epistles 372, 373. In declining this offer by Epistle 379 he pleads in excuse his proposed nomination as a Councillor of the Burgundian Court, an appointment which was dependent upon his return to Brabant, and about which he had apparently been already in communication with the Chancellor. See Epistle 355, and observations there, p. 227.

Epistle 379. Epist. ad div. p. 98; Ep. ii. 19; C. 1552 (51).

Erasmus to Urbanus Regius.

Your letters have been shown to me by my distinguished friend and patron, Iohannes Faber, our official; but they could not have come at a more unseasonable time, as I am just now not only busy at once with the first and last pages

* xiii. Calendas Martias. Ex Londino. *Epist. s. q. elegantes*, p. 231.

of my work, but tired, or rather utterly exhausted, by the constant labours of many months. Nevertheless I owe it to them, that I have made the acquaintance of Urbanus, a person (as his letters show) of candour, prudence, eloquence and erudition, endowed with all the gifts of all the Graces and Muses.

I sincerely congratulate our Germany on the possession of such a truly great prince. Would that there were many like him, to apply their minds to the things which have always been thought worthy of the noblest of mankind. I am already much in his debt both for his kind, though mistaken, opinion of me, and for challenging and inviting me so munificently to accept a position, for which I might well canvass with all my might, if I were only free to offer my services to anyone after having devoted them to the most illustrious prince Charles, my own sovereign, and that with my liberty (by the vote of the chief Council) excepted, or rather reserved; for if I see that in danger I shall resign everything. At the same time I have not deserted, nor do I ever intend to desert, my excellent Mæcenas, the Archbishop of Canterbury; but being settled on the borders, I hope to be able to satisfy both my countries, the one in which I was born, and that into which I have been adopted. If it were otherwise, I should not plead my age as an excuse, although mine is rather decrepitude than age, for I am in my forty-ninth year, not more;† but age should be reckoned by strength and not by years.

If the arrangement of my journey will permit it,‡ I shall not grudge the loss of two or three days to purchase the sight of so excellent a prince. And as you have invited me in his name, so I trust you will with no less eloquence thank him in mine. My occupations will excuse both the brevity and the rusticity of my Epistle. If you really knew

† annum ago non plus undequinquagesimum.

‡ Quod si sieret [*read* sierit] itineris mei ratio.

what they are, you would be so far from being offended, that you would wonder how I could write even these few lines. Farewell.

Basel, 24 Feb. 1516.*

The above year-date is found in *Opus Epistolarum*; but it was probably no part of the original letter (see Introduction, p. lxvii.); and the statement of the author's age contained in the letter implies the year-date 1515, if Erasmus was born, as appears probable, in 1466. (See vol. i. Appendix V.) But other circumstances point to 1516. First, there is the condition of his literary work, which appears to be approaching completion, see p. 243. In February, 1516, Erasmus wrote the dedication of his New Testament, and the Jerome was passing through the press. Secondly there is the reference to the office of Councillor, which was probably conferred at a later date than February, 1515. See p. 227. There is another circumstance in favour of the later date, that Erasmus, in a letter to Bishop Fisher written in June, 1516, mentions this invitation of the duke of Bavaria among the testimonies of the general approbation with which his New Testament had been received. See Epistle 400. See also the letters to Rimaclus and More (June, 1516), Epistles 398, 399, p. 266. The most probable conclusion seems to be, that Erasmus by an oversight misstated his age, and that 1516 is the true year-date.

Epistle 379 was followed a fortnight later by another letter to the same correspondent, recommending a friend as a substitute.

Epistle 380. Opus Epist. p. 618; Ep. xviii. 35; C. 1553 (53).

Erasmus to Urbanus Regius.

As our accounts stand at present, most learned Urbanus, I count myself entirely indebted to the most illustrious prince Ernest and to you, for your favourable intentions on my behalf; but I think I may make some return, if, not being

* Basileæ, Sexto Calend. Martias. *Epistolæ ad diversos.* Anno M.D XVI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

myself at liberty to do as I should wish, I point out a person who can much more abundantly supply all that you expected from me. We have here Henry Glarean, a young man who has been decorated with the Imperial laurel, an honour which among his many distinctions I look upon as the least. He is extremely skilful in every branch of mathematics; and in that Aristotelian philosophy which is now current in the Schools he has made such progress that he may match the very highest professors. Besides this, he has mastered a great deal of theology. In geography and history he is perfect. In fact there is no kind of learning in which he is not happily versed. He has acquired a fair amount of Greek, and with his industry and cleverness would soon complete his knowledge of that language. His age moreover is in the highest degree suitable for the purpose required; since he has reached his thirtieth year. At that time of life a man is too old to be slighted, and is capable of the greatest amount of labour. But Glarean, without reference to his age, is by a peculiar gift of nature fond and patient of literary work. Whatever he does not know, he learns with avidity; what he does know, he teaches willingly and candidly. His manners are lively and cheerful, and he is truly a man for all hours. I will add the last item, which I think should be reckoned most important. His character is born for integrity; he shrinks from those tipsy revels, and is so averse from gambling, foul language and impurity, that the very mention of such things is disagreeable to him.

He is invited by many upon favourable terms, and I thought he was already engaged; but I found in talking with him, that he might be tempted to come to you, if an offer were made him not unworthy of his merits. He is young, and has more learning than wealth or authority, though his authority is already considerable and is daily increasing. Your Prince's splendour will bring him into light, and he in

return will do honour to the rank and fortune of the Prince, and will soon repay with interest whatever distinction may be borrowed from his greatness. I thought that I should be doing you a service by sending you this information, as I know whom I am recommending.

The New Testament is published; and the last page of Jerome is being finished. Farewell.

Basel, 7 March, 1516.*

Pirckheimer, writing from Nuremberg,—EPISTLE 382, Deventer MS.; C. 1590 (109),—incloses an extract from a letter he has received from Jerome Emser, a Councillor of George, duke of Saxony,—EPISTLE 381, Deventer MS.; C. 1590 (110),—expressing the hope that Erasmus will visit Leipzig, and promising him a generous reception. These letters have the year-date 1516, without day, added in the manuscript.

A letter from Nicolas Ellenbogen, dated from the monastery of Ottenbeuren, 30 March, 1516,—EPISTLE 383, Deventer MS.; C. 1554 (55),—enquires about the publication of the New Testament and Jerome, and declares the writer's admiration and attachment. See p. 251.

The first part of the works of Jerome was now ready, or nearly ready, for publication. This important work was after all dedicated, not to the Pope, but to Warham. The long dedicatory letter, which is dated at Basel the 1st of April, 1516, ends with the following compliment to the Archbishop and to England.

EPISTLE 384. Hieronymi Opera, Basel, 1516; Jortin ii. 528.

Erasmus to Archbishop Warham.

* * * * *

Would that all our princes were disposed, as you are, to put an end to the tumult of war, as mad as it is miserable, to turn their minds to making their age illustrious by the

* Basileæ, nonis Martiis. Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo sexto. *Opus Epistolarum.*

arts of Peace, and to kindle by adequate rewards the zeal of the learned in the prosecution of their salutary labours. We should then, before long, see that come to pass in all the world, which within these few years has taken place in England; a country which, as it has long shown its power by the men it has produced and by its material resources, has lately become so civilized and so flourishing in religion, in justice, in refinement of life, and finally in every kind of ancient learning,—and that in a great degree by your influence,—that this remote island may supply an incentive to the highest efforts of the most cultivated regions of the world.

Farewell in Christ Jesus, most distinguished Prelate, whom I pray that He will long preserve for the restoration of Religion and the encouragement of Literature.

Basel, 1 April, 1516.*

Dr. Jortin has printed this dedication in his Appendix. *Erasmus*, vol. ii. p. 538. He observes in his Life of Erasmus, that it was dated from Basel, though Erasmus was at this time in the Low Countries, and concludes that it was the fashion of those times to subscribe dedications from the place where the book was printed, and not from that where the author resided. Jortin, *Erasmus*, vol. i. p. 84. But in fact Erasmus does not appear to have left Basel before the 12th of May. See Epistle 393. The actual issue of the work seems to have been further delayed for some weeks after the date of the dedication.

A letter of George Pritzel to Erasmus, dated at Ulm, 5 April, 1516,—EPISTLE 385, Deventer MS.; C. 1555 (57),—refers to a passage in the Adages, in which a work on Metaphors composed by Richard Pace is mentioned; and suggests its publication. See *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. vi. Prov. 81.

A letter of Sapidus, dated 11 April, 1516,—EPISTLE 386, Deventer MS.; C. 1555 (58),—introduces Beatus Arnoldus, and incloses some verses in which the nations, Germany and France, contend for the parentage of Erasmus.

* Basileæ, anno salutis M.D.XVI. Kaleñ. April. *Hieronymi Opera*, tom. i.

Jerome Baldung, in a letter dated from Ensisheim 24 April, 1516,—EPISTLE 387, Deventer MS.; C. 1556 (59),—introduces himself to Erasmus, mentioning Lucas Paliurus, who has lately been staying with the writer.

In a letter dated from Clarona, 29 April [1516], EPISTLE 388, Deventer MS.; C. 1538 (22), Hulderic Zwingli, afterwards one of the noblest leaders of the Reformation, writes of the journey which he has lately made to Basel, for the sake of seeing Erasmus, as strangers from Spain were said to have travelled as far as Rome to see Livy. This epistle is dated in the printed copy, and I presume in the Deventer manuscript, *Anno* 1515. I have placed it in 1516, because it appears from its contents to have been addressed to Basel; in April, 1515, Erasmus was in London, having left Basel in the second week of March.

The *Institutio Principis Christiani* was published by Froben in a handsome small 4to volume, preceded by the Precepts of Isocrates *de regno administrando* translated by Erasmus, and followed by his *Panegyric*, addressed in 1504 to the archduke Philip (see vol. i. pp. 361, 362), and his translations of Plutarch's discourses on the *Difference between a Flatterer and a Friend* (with its dedication to Henry VIII. Epistle 259), and on the *Use that may be made of Enemies* (with its dedication to Wolsey, Epistle 277B), and some other short compositions. The little book bears date at the conclusion, *Basileæ apud Ioannem Frobenium, mense Maio, An.* M.D.XVI; and the dedicatory epistle to Prince Charles, who is described as pulcherrimo natus imperio maiori destinatus,—was probably written when the news of the death of his grandfather, king Ferdinand of Spain, which took place at Madrigaleio, a village of Estremadura towards the west of central Spain on the 23rd of January, 1516, had not long before arrived at Basel. The report does not appear to have reached either Switzerland or England until about the 18th of February. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 1559, 1563. The dedication has no date of its own. The following extract from this address may serve as a specimen of an eloquent but somewhat lengthy admonition, which we can scarcely suppose the young prince to have read through, even if his Latinity was sufficient for the purpose.

EPISTLE 389. Institutio Principis Christiani. Basel, 1516. C. iv. 559.

Erasmus to Prince Charles.

* * * * *

It is a sound estimate of Plutarch, that no one serves the State better than he who imbues the mind of a sovereign with sentiments worthy of one that has to take thought for all, while on the other hand no one does a greater injury to mankind, than he who corrupts a young Prince's heart with wrong opinions or desires, and as it were poisons the spring from which his people draw their supplies. The same author takes to task that famous saying of Alexander the Great: 'If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.' The greater his empire, the more need had he of the mind of Diogenes, to be equal to such a strain. But as you, illustrious Prince, surpass Alexander in your fortune, so may we hope that you will excel him in wisdom. He won a vast dominion, not without bloodshed, nor long to last. You have been born to the fairest empire and destined to a greater; and the pains which he took to acquire his dominions, you may perhaps have to expend in the voluntary cession of part of yours. which it may be better not to retain. You owe it to Providence, that your realm has been acquired without injury to any; your wisdom will best be shown, if you can keep it in peace and tranquillity. * * *

Among the many honours, which with the blessing of Providence your merits may deserve, it will be no small part of your praise, if it be said, that such was the character of Charles, that a writer was not afraid to set before him without any flattery such a portrait of a Christian sovereign, as the best of kings might willingly acknowledge, and a young prince, with his heart set on rising above himself, might wisely imitate. Farewell.

[Basel, April, 1516.]

Epistle 390, first printed by Dr. Adelbert Horawitz (Horawitz, *Erasmiana*, i. 71)* is a short undated note, addressed by Erasmus to Nicolas Ellenbogen in answer to Epistle 383.

Epistle 390. Horawitz, Erasmiana, i. 71.

Erasmus to Nicolas Ellenbogen.

Jerome will be finished next autumn. The New Testament has been hurried out headlong, rather than edited, so that certainly in this kind of performance we have surpassed all that have gone before us. As for your interest in our poor productions, I love your sincerity, and accept with pleasure your good-will; about praise I am indifferent. I shall be more grateful, if you will commend me to Christ, in whose approval true happiness lies. I have been much pleased with your diction, so simple, pure and explicit, which presents an image of your mind and character. If you deem that the work we have undertaken in editing the New Testament is likely to be of service to religion, pray invite others to the same study. Farewell, dearest Nicolas.

[Basel, April, 1516.]

In the spring of this year, while residing at Basel, Erasmus had begun a correspondence with the French scholar, William Budé, which lasted, with occasional intermissions, for some ten years. The letters of 1516 and 1517 make a great show of erudition in the book of Epistles printed by Erasmus in 1517. The first letter, which appears to have come from Erasmus, and with which he probably sent a copy of his New Testament, has not been preserved. The answer of Budé, dated from Paris on Ascension day (1 May, 1516),† and written in a mixture of Latin and Greek,—Epistle 391, *Epistolæ aliquot*, p. 48; Ep. i. 6; C. 247 (250),—was received by

* For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Reich. *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, p. 177.

† Parisiis festo ascensionis domini, cum ego votiuam perigrinationem postridie initurus essem. *Epistolæ aliquot*

Erasmus at Antwerp on the 19th of June (more than a month after its date). See Epistle 409, p. 280. It is partly occupied with a criticism of Erasmus's translation of the opening sentences of St. Luke's Gospel, and contains, among other things, a passage in which the writer expresses his surprise at Erasmus employing so much ingenuity upon slight and subtle discussions, λεπτολογήματα, which were treated as matters of serious importance. This charge is noticed by Erasmus at some length in his answer, Epistle 409, pp. 282, 283.

On the 9th of May, 1516, Zasius wrote from Freiburg, excusing himself by reason of his age and professional occupations for not having yet contrived to see Erasmus, and begging him to visit Freiburg. EPISTLE 392, *Epistolæ aliquot*, p. 57, Ep. ii. 14; C. 195 (213).* In confirmation of the year date which is found in the letter as printed, it may be observed, that though Erasmus had passed two autumns at Basel, this was the first year in which he had been there in May.

On the 12th of May, 1516, Erasmus was preparing to leave Basel for the Low Countries.

EPISTLE 393. Vita Erasmi, Scriverius, p. 154; Ep. xxx. 22; C. 1553 (62).

Erasmus to Pirckheimer.

I have neither anything to write to you, nor any leisure for such a purpose, having already made every preparation for my journey, and being almost killed by the labours of so many months. Nevertheless, having an opportunity of forwarding a letter, I cannot resist writing to my Wilibald.

The New Testament is finished somehow. Jerome stands panting at the winning-post, and will presently be in the hands of the public. My little book on the 'Institution of a Prince' is now being printed, with several other things. In our humble position we are making all the efforts we can

* Ex Friburgo. vii. idus Maii. An. M.D.XVI. *Epistolæ aliquot.*

to serve the cause of literature. You in your more fortunate circumstances, may hope for greater results.

In whatever country we find ourselves, we shall always carry Wilibald in our mind. I beseech you to make your voice heard by everybody in approval of the Notes on the New Testament. You know how every novelty is liable to be received with jealousy.

Farewell, ornament of Letters.

Basel, Whitmonday (May 12), 1516.*

Epistle 394, written by Erasmus to Boniface Amerbach, has been attributed in my Register to this year. It has nothing to show its precise date of time, but was written when Erasmus was on the point of leaving Basel, and apparently before he had met his correspondent in person. The latter appears to have been at this time a student of law at Strasburg.

EPISTLE 394. Epist. Fam. Erasmi ad B. Amerbachium. Basel, 1779, p. 7.

Erasmus to Boniface Amerbach.

I trust to your own kindness not to attribute it to any unkindness of mine that I have failed to write before, but to the stress of work of which you are not unaware. Both you and all your name are dear to me. I have conceived the highest hope of you from your letter, which reminds me of Politian, or of our friend Zasius, that second Politian. Continue, as you have begun, to do honour to your country by your character and learning.

I am writing this, already prepared for my journey, and have not time to answer the very lively letter I have received from Zasius.† When I have leisure, I will challenge him with

* Basileæ, postridie Pentecostes, Anno M.D.XVI. *Vita Erasmi.*

† argutissimis Zasii ad me litteris.

volumes.. He seems to me the one German who can speak. Farewell.

Basel, [May, 1516.]

Erasmus's letter of the 12th of May does not appear to have reached Nuremberg by the 20th; but Pirckheimer had already received a copy of the New Testament. The following letter from him, dated on the last-named day, shows the enthusiasm with which the first publication by the Press of the Christian Scriptures in their original language was welcomed by the learned men and learned women of Germany. This epistle was written too late to reach Erasmus at Basel, and was probably forwarded to Antwerp. The letter referred to in the first paragraph was, no doubt, Epistle 359, dated about five months before, since which time the New Testament had been published. Pirckheimer's later communication, Epistle 382, inclosing a note from Emser, probably sent some six or eight weeks before, was not counted as a letter.

Epistle 395. Epistolæ aliquot, f. ii; Ep. ii. 11; C. 196 (214).

Pirckheimer to Erasmus.

I sent you a letter about four months ago, my most loving and honoured Erasmus, but not having received any answer from you, I suspect there has been some failure in the delivery, either of my letter to you, or of one of yours to me. But meantime instead of a letter, I have had in my hands your glorious publication, in which the New Testament is conscientiously and faithfully as well as happily and successfully unfolded. You have secured your name against the assaults of Time, and completed a performance not less acceptable to Almighty God than useful and necessary to all faithful servants of Christ. You are indeed to be congratulated on having accomplished a work denied to mankind for more than a thousand years * * *

I am very desirous to know what you are doing, whether you keep your health, and what is to be your next production. If it will not be a trouble to you, please write, that I may have some answer to give to the multitude of your unknown friends, who enquire anxiously of me by letter every day about your proceedings. See, my Erasmus, how greedy, not to say how ungrateful we are. You have bestowed on us immeasurable services, and we still want something more, and are disposed to exact it. This, however, you must attribute to your own merit, and not to our fault. Farewell, Glory and Splendour of mankind !

Stabius, the Emperor's Historiographer, a learned and excellent man, repeats his greeting to you. My twin sisters also send their greeting, the one, Abbess of St. Clare, the other a follower of the same rule. They have your writings constantly in their hands, and are now especially delighted with the New Testament, by which women, more learned than many men who think themselves wise, are marvellously touched. They would write to you and in Latin, if they did not think their letters unworthy of your acceptance.

Nuremberg, 20 May, 1516.*

The following long letter of More, which in *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, and the other early editions is without date, was written in the latter part of May, 1516. This is shown by the passage in p. 259 about Tunstall, who after spending the spring at Brussels, had returned to England about the middle of May, was in London for a few days only, and on the 19th of May was sent again to Brabant. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 1574, 1870, 1935. Pace, who had been sent to treat with the Swiss and detach them from the French alliance, was at Constance in February, 1516, and at Trent in the Tyrol in May. Brewer, ii. 1878, 1896. The first sentence of this Epistle may be noticed as characteristic of the writer. The same man who was willing to lay down his life rather than say what he did not think upon a subject which he deemed important, protests against being bound by strict

* Ex Nurenberga, xx. Maij. Anno. M.D. XVI. *Epistolæ aliquot.*

rules of veracity in matters of ordinary social intercourse. And it will be seen, that in his account of the correspondence with Wolsey in the matter of the Tournay Canonry, More does not appear to shrink from some little misrepresentation on behalf of his friend. See p. 257.

Epistle 396. Epistolæ sane quam elegantes, p. 258 ; Ep. ii. 16 ; C. 220 (227).

Thomas More to Erasmus.

Since you have been away, dearest Erasmus, I have received from you three letters in all.* If I say I have written back as often, it may be you will not believe me, however solemnly I may lie ; especially as you know me so well as a person both lazy in letter-writing, and not so superstitiously veracious, as to shrink from a fib as I should from a murder.

Our friend Pace is charged with a mission in your parts, but not quite where you are ; so that he is out of our reach without being within yours ; we can talk to him by letter, and you cannot by word of mouth. I wish his business well over, and that he may soon come home, so that I may have one half of my second self living with me ; for I do not see when I may expect you, your mind being set on going to Italy, where you will meet with those, who, I fear, will not let you be torn away again. I hope Pace may soon attain a fortune worthy of him. The King's favour, the Cardinal's will, and the attachment of all good men, seem clearly to point to his distinction and advancement. For you I should have much higher hopes, if I had not been so often disappointed. What our bishops think of you, especially my lord of Canterbury, and with what favour our Sovereign regards you, I need not say. That no benefice,

* None of these letters appears to have survived.

worthy either of you or of the friendship of such eminent persons, has been bestowed upon you, has been owing partly to your having neglected to make that suit which others make, and partly to some such accidental cause, as has lately happened with respect to that Tournay canonry which Mountjoy and Sampson had intended for you. You seem now to be not indisposed to accept it, as you write that you have sent Mountjoy all the instruments that appeared necessary for the purpose. But, if you remember, when you were with me at Bruges, I had some talk with you, in which, after reckoning up all the advantages and also the disadvantages of that preferment, you seemed to be disinclined to it, and did not hide this from Sampson, the bishop's vicar at Tournay. To this conclusion you were led, not only because you were afraid that the presentation was not secure without the consent of the other bishop, whom you did not expect to confirm the act of a person whose whole proceedings he is endeavouring to set aside, but also because, besides having to pay nearly ten Pounds sterling on your admission, twenty nobles or more were required for the redemption of the house. That is the custom there, and if you do not submit to it, you will scarcely get six nobles a year, and not even that, as far as I have heard, unless you always reside. Having these reasons in your mind, Sampson and I thought you were not going to accept the canonry. Soon after you were gone, I went to Tournay myself. There I heard from lord Mountjoy and from Sampson, that the Archbishop of York had written word to them both, to give that benefice to another person, to whom, it appears, he had promised it without knowing it was intended for you. When I heard this, without saying anything about what I had understood of the benefice not being quite to your mind, I advised them to write back, that the canonry had been granted to you, and that the matter was so arranged that it could not be altered, unless some better provision was first

made for you. My lord of York then wrote back, that the post would not be at all suitable for you, as it was not very profitable for a resident, and worth nothing to an absentee, and your friends were to consider him responsible for conferring a better benefice on you. Accordingly, when I was there, without my saying anything against it, they had decided upon giving it to the person the Bishop wished. What happened afterwards, I do not know; but this I know, that if you have not got that, the Cardinal owes you a fatter benefice, and I hope he will soon pay the debt; he often mentions you in a friendly way.

There was no need of my asking for your pension from the Archbishop of Canterbury. He had thought of it himself, before he received my letter, and had arranged the business with Maruffo, whom, as you know, he always employs as his agent in such matters, advancing him money to make the payments at stated times. Nevertheless, as soon as he had my message (for he was staying at Otford), he urged the man again by letter, to send you quickly twenty Pounds of our money, promising to repay them as soon as he was informed by your receipt that they had reached you. I had myself an interview with Maruffo, who said he would arrange for the money to be within your reach at once. "Indeed," said he, "it is so already, as he has a bill from me by which he can draw when he pleases a thousand ducats, and whatever he raises in this way is by our agreement to be repaid me out of the pension." That is what he says, though for myself I scarcely believe, that he has given you any bill to enable you to draw on him, without the amount being first paid down on his counter. Therefore let me know speedily, whether the facts are as he says.

The Archbishop has been at last relieved of the office of Chancellor, the burden of which, as you know, he has been anxious to shake off for some years. Having secured the privacy he has long desired, he enjoys a leisure sweetened

by Literature, and by the recollection of important affairs well administered. The King has put in his place the Cardinal of York,* who so conducts himself, as to surpass the high expectation of all. After so excellent a predecessor, it is no easy matter to give, as he does, complete satisfaction.

Our embassy (for you will be interested in that, as in everything else of mine) was successful, though the affair was protracted longer than I wished. For although, when I left home, I scarcely expected to be away for two months, I spent more than six in that mission. When therefore I saw the business concluded for which I was myself sent, and nevertheless other matters arising which seemed to be leading to further delay, I wrote at last to the Cardinal, and obtained leave to return, using for this purpose the mediation of Pace as well as other friends. For at that time he had not yet gone. But as I was returning, I met him unexpectedly at Gravelines, travelling in such haste, that he had hardly time to exchange a greeting with me.†

Tunstall has come home, but has scarcely been here ten days, not one of which has been pleasantly spent, the whole time being consumed in explaining the matters with which he had been charged as ambassador. And now he is just as suddenly thrust into a new embassy, and that, I am sure, much against his will, if he were allowed to say no.‡

* The great seal was delivered to Cardinal Wolsey, 22 Dec. 1515. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 1335.

† This meeting is mentioned in a letter of Pace to Wolsey, written from Antwerp, 25 Oct. 1515, as he was on his way to Switzerland. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 1067. If More was returning to England in the last week of October, his business seems to have been finished within the six months, as the Commission of the envoys is dated on the 7th of May. Brewer, ii. 422. But More may possibly have gone out with verbal instructions some days before the date of the formal Commission. Compare p. 206, note.

‡ Tunstall started on his return from Brussels, 29 or 30 Jan. 1516, but had a fresh commission with Sir Edward Ponynges, dated 19 Feb. 1516, to arrange a treaty with Prince Charles. Brewer, ii. 1458, 1459, 1574.

An ambassador's position has never had any great charms for me ; indeed it does not seem to be so suitable for us laymen, as for you clergymen, who, either have no wives and children, or find them wherever you go. When I am away, I have two households to maintain, one in England and another abroad. I received a liberal allowance from the King for the persons I took with me, but no account is taken of those whom I leave at home ; and although you know what a kind husband, what an indulgent father, what a considerate master I am, yet I have never been able to induce my family to go without food during my absence. Moreover it is easy for princes to compensate the labours and expenses of clergymen by church preferment without putting themselves to any cost, while we laymen are not provided for so handsomely or so readily. Nevertheless on my own return I had a yearly pension offered me by the King, which whether one looked to the profit or the honour of it, was not to be despised. This however I have hitherto refused, and shall, I think, continue to do so, because, if I took it, the place I now hold in the City, which I prefer to a higher office, would either have to be given up, or retained,—much to my regret,—with some offence to the citizens, who, if they had any question with the Government, as sometimes happens, about their privileges, would have less confidence in me, as a paid pensioner of the King.

However, in that embassy of mine there were some very agreeable circumstances. In the first place there was the long and constant intercourse with Tunstall, who, as he is unsurpassed in all literary accomplishments and in strictness of life and character, is at the same time a most delightful companion. Another circumstance was my acquaintance with Busleiden, who entertained me with a magnificence suitable to his noble fortune, and a kindness proportioned to the goodness of his heart. He showed me a house adorned with singular taste and provided with the choicest furniture ;

he showed me many monuments of antiquity, of which you know I am curious, and finally his well-stored library, and a mind still better stored. I hear he is soon to be sent on an embassy to our King.*

But in all my journey I met with nothing I liked better than the society of your host, Peter Gillis of Antwerp, a person so learned, witty and modest, and so true a friend, that I would willingly part with a good share of my fortune to purchase his company. He has sent me your Apology, and also that Commentary on the Psalm *Beatus vir*, which you dedicated to Beatus Rhenanus. Dorpius has had his Epistle printed and prefixed to your Apology.† I should have been glad to meet him, if I had had the chance. That not being the case, I paid my respects to him by letter, indeed by a Laconic note, for I had not time to write a longer one.‡ But I could not pass by, without any notice, a man whom I like not only for his erudition, but for many other reasons, of which this is not the least, that by taking the *Moria* to task, he gave you the occasion to write the Apology.

I rejoice that Jerome and the New Testament are going on so well. It is marvellous, with how much interest they

* I do not find in Mr. Brewer's Abstracts any trace of Busleiden's embassy. But when he died in August or September, 1517, Erasmus writes in a letter to Wolsey,—after lamenting the death of Ammonius,—Periit et Hieronymus Buslidius, qui apud vos legatione functus est. Ep. iii. 31. C. 263B.

† Epistles 304, 317. See the Introduction to my former volume, p. xxviii, where Epistle 304 is referred to as Epistle 314, its place in my Register before the last correction. More's observation indicates that the volume published at Louvain in October, 1515, was printed under the direction of Dorpius. It is not unlikely that Erasmus had seen Dorpius on his way to Basel in June, 1515.

‡ By these words I understand More to describe his own somewhat lengthy epistle written at Bruges, 21 October [1515], in answer to the epistle of Dorpius, in which the latter had expressed his regret at the publication of the *Moria*. More appears to have been an habitually fluent writer, to whom a pamphlet of some length really appeared a Laconic note.

are looked for by everybody. Believe me, Erasmus, Linacre has the highest opinion of you, and talks of you everywhere; this I lately heard from those who were present, when he spoke most lovingly and without any reserve about you at the King's supper table, and the King responded in such a way as to give my informants the impression that before long you will come in for some extraordinary preferment; I pray Heaven to bring it to pass.

Farewell, dearest Erasmus, and commend me to Rhenanus and Lystrius, who, thanks both to your commendation and their own writings, are dearer to me, and indeed are better known, than many of those with whom I am in daily intercourse. My wife sends you her greeting, and also Clement, who makes such constant progress both in Latin and Greek, as to give me no slight hope of his becoming some day an ornament to his country and to Letters.*

Farewell again, and be content for many months with this one letter, in which I have imitated those miserly persons who seldom invite any guests, but if they ever do give a feast, arrange their banquet in the most lengthy fashion, so as to make their one dinner a means of escaping the daily cost of entertainment. Now farewell a third time. The bishop of Durham was much pleased with the dedication of Seneca.

See how naturally I imitate you: writing to you now, as you did lately to me, by a borrowed hand, and imitating you so closely, that I should not even have written these lines myself, unless to assure you of the letter being mine.

London, [May] 1516.†

* John Clement, a protégé of More, was for a time Reader of Greek at Oxford, and afterwards a distinguished physician. He was an adherent of the old religion, and died at Mechlin in 1572.

† No date in the earlier editions. Londino, Anno 1516, C.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Return of Erasmus to the Netherlands, May; Visit to St. Omer, June; Sojourn at Antwerp and Brussels, June and July, 1516. *Epistles* 397 *to* 430.

ERASMUS left Basel on or soon after the 12th of May, 1516 (Epistles 393, 399), and made his way, as quickly as the disturbed state of the country permitted (Epistle 400), to the Netherlands. Having been appointed during his absence, probably in October or November, 1515, a member of Prince Charles's Council,—an office to which a salary was attached (Epistles 355, 379, 434),—he was especially desirous of paying his respects without delay to the young Prince, who had now become King of Spain, and to John Le Sauvage, Chancellor of Burgundy, his principal minister. Erasmus arrived on the 30th of May at Antwerp (Epistle 399), where he was the guest of Peter Gillis. See p. 261. His first letters were addressed to Le Sauvage, and to Rimaclus, who is described, in the Index to *Opus Epistolarum*, as Cæsaris a secretis, a secretary of the Emperor.

EPISTLE 397. Farrago, p. 182; Ep. vii. 11; C. 155 (176).

Erasmus to John le Sauvage.

Illustrious Sir, I am free at last from my labours at Basel, later perhaps than I desired and my friends expected, but having regard to my work almost too soon, having left that place before the completion of my little book on the Education of a Sovereign (*de Principe instruendo*), which I was most anxious to offer as a present to the Prince. The Jerome also was not quite finished. In doing what remains to be done I shall be guided mainly by your advice.

I am leaving this letter at Antwerp in order that, if by any chance I shall not have the opportunity of seeing you at

Brussels or Mechlin, I may in this way pay my respects to your Highness. For I am going to Mountjoy's castle,* and intend to send some-one from thence to England, to carry to the Archbishop of Canterbury the volumes of Jerome which I have inscribed to him, and also to see my friends for me, and collect my income for the last year. When I have got this done, I shall presently return to you. Meantime I trust your Highness may remain in health.

Antwerp, 1 June, [1516].†

EPISTLE 398. Farrago, p. 181; Ep. vii. 10; C. 252 (252).

Erasmus to Rimaclus.

I have escaped at last from the prisonhouse of Basel,‡ in which I have done six years' work in eight months.§ It is marvellous what urgent and favourable offers I received in that Upper Germany, a country which in every way has impressed me as agreeably as any under the sun.

I am going to leave this letter at Antwerp, on my departure for Brussels,—where I hope to meet you and others,—so that if by any chance we have not the opportunity of seeing each

* Montioicam arcem adeo. Lord Mountjoy was still governor of the Castle of Hammes (see vol. i. p. 370), but was at this time for the most part at Tournay, of which place (taken by the English in 1513) he had been appointed Lieutenant in January, 1515, and was much occupied with the rebuilding of the citadel there. Brewer, *Abstracts*, vol. ii. Index. Erasmus was proposing to go to Hammes, where he seems to have thought he should find Mountjoy (see pp. 267, 268); but he appears, instead, to have sent his messenger to England from St. Omer. See the dates of Epistles 400 to 404.

† Antuuerpiæ. Calendis Iunijs. *Farrago.* M.D.XV. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

‡ Ex ergastulo Basiliensi.

§ If I am right in my dates, Erasmus somewhat underestimates the length of his stay at Basel, which seems to have lasted from the end of July, 1515, to the second week of May, 1516. See pp. 209, 252, 253.

other, it may convey my greeting to my friends Take care to remember me to Aloysius, if he is with you.

Antwerp, 1 June [1516].*

The Aloysius mentioned above was probably Aloysius Marlianus, with whom we find Erasmus corresponding in 1521. The last two letters were written when the author was on the point of leaving Antwerp, to go to Brussels, after which he proposed to visit Hammes, if Mountjoy was there, and to stay a few days at St. Omer with the Abbot of St. Bertin, while a confidential messenger, known as One-eyed Peter (see pp. 267, 268, 270), was despatched to England to convey to his friends and patrons there some specimens of the volumes lately produced at Basel. The following letter to More was written while Erasmus was at Brussels, to be forwarded to England from Hammes, or St. Omer, with the other despatches. See p. 264, note.

EPISTLE 399. Farrago, 187 ; Ep. vii. 22 ; C. 380 (364).

Erasmus to Thomas More.

To others I am sick ; for you alone I am well. Thank Heaven, I returned safe to Antwerp on the 30th of May. I had intended to travel by Lorraine, and had proceeded as far as Kaisersberg, a town situated among the hills ;† but when I saw troops of soldiers in all directions, and the peasants everywhere moving into the towns, and there was a report that a great military force was on the point of arriving, I altered my plan, changing the risk without altogether escaping it. At Cologne I fell in with the Italian Envoys, and our party united made up about eighty cavaliers ; but even with this number the journey was not free from danger.

* Antuuerpiæ Calendis Iuniis. *Farrago.* M.D.XVII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

† ad Montem Cæsaris oppidum in alpibas situm. Kaisersberg (Alsace) is in the Vosges, about seven miles N.W. of Colmar.

The Bishop of Basel, a man of advanced age, of high character and of great learning, has treated me with extraordinary kindness, although many agree in thinking him rather wanting in complaisance, for this is the mole they find upon a fair complexion. He invited me to his house, received me with cordiality, distinguished me by his approbation, offered me money and preferment, and made me a present of a horse, which I had the opportunity of selling at once for fifty florins when I had scarcely left the door. He had ordered a silver cup, but the goldsmith had disappointed him, at which he was much vexed.

I cannot express how much I like the climate of Basel, and the character of the people. Nobody could be more friendly, or more hearty. What numbers accompanied me on horseback as I came away! With what tears did they take their leave! From other parts I have also received some respectable offers; I send you a letter, from which you may guess I am not altogether making believe.*

The New Testament is approved even by those whom I thought most likely to find fault; and the leading theologians like it very much. The *Enchiridion* is in favour with every one; the Bishop of Basel always carries it about with him, and I have seen all the margins painted with his own hand.† I must stop these observations, for fear of appearing conceited; though in writing to More I need not mind being silly. But *I am oppressed with so many troubles*, that I cannot *hold up my head.*‡ A man may put up with one or two blows of fortune, *but I am unlucky in every way.* How hard it is for those to be wise, against whom the Rhamnusian goddess has set her face! Nevertheless I sustain myself with the courage of a Hercules!

I was pleased with your letter, which was delivered to me

* Probably Epistle 372 or 373. These were printed in 1517.

† ipsius manu depictas.

‡ The words in *italics* are in the original in Greek.

by Peter Gillis on my return to Antwerp. As to Ruffo,* I wonder what has come into the man's head, to make him talk such nonsense. I deposited with him a hundred and twenty good angels, and he gave me a bill for them. That business however may be completed without any risk. I am writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury by this messenger, that the money has been paid me by means of Ruffo; so Ruffo must deliver to the bearer his order, by which I may receive it in this country; and after that order has been left in your hands, he may receive the money from the Archbishop. If this plan is not acceptable, please receive it yourself, and write to your correspondents to pay it to me here, sending me at the same time a bill, by which I may apply for it. For I will so modify my letter to the Archbishop, that either course may be adopted. One-eyed Peter here suggests, that it will be better to entrust the money to some German merchant, by whose bill I may receive it at Antwerp. I will accordingly write to the Archbishop to pay you the money to be transmitted by you to me.

I am wonderfully delighted with your letter, which bears witness to your affection for us, and also proves your proficiency in Rhetoric. I have not yet finished reading your *Apologia*,† from which I gather what Dorpius has written. I cannot think what has come into the man's head; but this is what Theology makes of people!

I have paid my respects to the Chancellor. It so happened, that the Provost of Cassel was at supper there,—a learned and courteous person. The Bishop of Chieti is also here, and while I am writing, Tunstall is expected to arrive. When I have made my bow to him, I shall pay a visit to Mountjoy, and to the Abbot, and stay with them until this

* Maruffo. See More's letter, p. 258.

† More's Apology for the *Moria* against the strictures of Dorpius is dated at Bruges, 21 Oct. 1515. *Auctarium epistolarum ex Thoma Moro*, printed with *Erasmi Epistolæ*, London 1642.

one-eyed fellow returns. After a while I shall deal with the Prince.* If I find there is no warmth in the business, —such is the feeling here about Literature,—I shall be off straight to Basel, unless you think otherwise. Write full particulars, if there is anything that concerns me. If Pace is with you, tell him to send me by the bearer all my papers which I left in his care at Ferrara.†

[P.S.] I have met the Bishop of Chieti, and dined in his company; he is my hearty friend and admirer. He has business with Prince Charles, with whom he is going to Spain.

[P.P.S.] To-day I have dined with Tunstall; to sum up his character in two words, he is just like you. Mind you recover, for I hear you are seriously ill.

[Brussels, 2 and 3 June, 1516.]

The above epistle is not dated in *Farrago*, and has the year-date M.D.XVIII. in later printed copies. Its true date is shown by those of the preceding letters from Antwerp and the following letters from St. Omer, and by the arrival of Tunstall at Brussels, which took place after the main part of the letter was written (p. 267), but before the second postscript was added, apparently on the next day. For Tunstall's movements see Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 1994. From Brussels Erasmus had proposed to go to Hammes, where he hoped to meet Mountjoy (p. 267), but as we hear nothing further of this visit, we may guess that Mountjoy was not there; and Erasmus appears to have proceeded at once to St. Omer. See note, p. 264.

The following five letters, all dated from St. Omer on the 5th of June, were sent to England, together with Epistle 399, by one-eyed Peter, elsewhere called by Erasmus Cocles and Cyclops, who had been for some years known to Erasmus and to Colet (p. 27), and appears to have been a transcriber of books as well as a courier. Epistle 402. Erasmus wrote on the same day to Colet and to John Watson of Cambridge, but these letters have not been preserved. Their receipt is acknowledged by Epistles 411, 442.

* Mox cum principe agam. See pp. 263, 272. † See vol. i. p. 452.

In Epistle 400 Erasmus dwells with satisfaction upon the first publication of the Christian Scriptures in their original language by means of the Press, and denounces the endless warfare carried on among Christian princes. This letter in *Farrago* is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in *Opus Epistolarum* and later editions to the Bishop of Rochester. The latter address appears to be right. See p. 270, where the Archbishop is mentioned.

EPISTLE 400. Farrago, p. 180; Ep. vii. 9; C. 255 (256).

Erasmus to John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

Reverend Father, if my health had allowed, I should have paid my respects to your lordship in person, and thanked you for your great goodness to me. I have already explained by letter the reasons why, after I had intended the New Testament to be dedicated to you, I changed my mind and inscribed it to the Pope; and such is your kindness and your wisdom too, that I do not doubt you will approve what we have done. This work was feared before its appearance, but now that it is published, it is marvellous how it commends itself to all theologians who are either learned, or honest and candid. The Prior of Freiburg, a person of the highest authority in his country, author of the *Margarita Philosophica*, when he had just tasted the work, said he had rather part with two hundred florins than with that book. Louis Bère, a divine of Paris, a person of the first rank in that 'promotion,' as they call it, kisses and adores it, and laments the loss of so many years consumed in those scholastic squabbles. Wolphangus Capito,* public preacher at Basel, an excellent Hebrew scholar, well prac-

* In the original letter, this name was probably written *Wolfgangus Faber* (Wolfgang Schmidt). See Epistle 447, in which this divine asks the advice of Erasmus, about the adoption of a more euphonious and distinguished name.

tised in the theological arena, is of the same opinion. Both of these are diligent students of Greek. I met at Mayence with a Theologian, who is a suffragan of Cologne ; and he had formed a similar judgment.

Not to speak of others, the Bishop of Basel, a man of great age, of high character and of vast learning, has treated me with the utmost kindness. What offers did he not make me ! When I was declining everything, he forced on my acceptance a horse, which I might have sold soon after, when I left the city, for fifty gold florins. Hernest, duke of Bavaria, sent a messenger expressly to Basel, to offer me two hundred florins a year, beside the prospect of church preferment, and beside munificient presents, if I would only live at Ingolstadt, where the Bavarians have their school.* A like offer was made by a German bishop, whose name for the moment I do not recollect. But I must cease boasting, though I could tell of many similar instances. I know I do not deserve any of them, and yet I am glad that good people are not displeased with my vigils, whatever they may be worth. Many are induced to study the sacred writings, who would otherwise never have read them, as they themselves admit ; and a great many have begun to study Greek ; indeed that is going on everywhere.

St. Jerome is to appear complete at the next Frankfort Fair. I am now sending to the Archbishop of Canterbury,—by one-eyed Peter, who is despatched for this purpose at my own risk and expense,—the four volumes of Epistles, which he will, no doubt, be happy to lend you. I had come myself to St. Omer with the intention of crossing to England, but a slight attack of fever prevents my sailing. When I am permitted to do so, I shall find some means of showing that I am not alogether unmindful of your bounty to me.

* See Epistle 372 ; p. 238.

Prince Charles is called to the succession of nineteen kingdoms,—so they say,*— a marvellous stroke of fortune! I pray it may be fortunate for our country, and not only for the Prince. When after leaving Basel I was preparing to travel through Lorraine, I met soldiers everywhere, and saw the peasants removing their goods to the nearest towns. There was a report that the soldiers were going to attack Lorraine, but it was not known by whom they were sent. I have an idea, that they had been disbanded by the Emperor, and were looking out for another engagement. Oh, the marvellous amusements of Christian princes! This is the way we turn everything upside down, and risk the hazard of the die; and yet we think ourselves Christians! It is a thing that a man like me can do nothing but deplore. I only wish that Popes, Cardinals, magnates and theologians would lay their heads together, so that some time or other an end may be put to these shameful calamities. But this will never come to pass, unless the pursuit of private advantage be abandoned, and only the general utility regarded; but the result would be, that every individual would also be benefited.

Farewell. I shall fare better myself, if I have earned a letter from you.

St. Omer, 5 June, [1516].†

I do not know any evidence to show, who the prisoner mentioned at the beginning of the following letter was; and Mr. Brewer who gives an abstract of the letter, does not appear to have found any clue. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 2001.

* Ferdinand, king of Arragon, died 23 Jan. 1516.

† Apud diuum Audomarum nonis Iunijs. *Farrago.* M.D.XVII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

EPISTLE 401. Farrago, p. 203; Ep. viii. 5; C. 136 (158).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I am glad that N. is released from prison, and doubly glad, if his release is also useful to you. I am charmed with Colet's Christian spirit, for I hear it has been entirely his doing that N. has been set free; although, after having been always on the best of terms with Colet, he took part with his adversaries, when he was assailed by the Bishops' calumnies.

I have published the letters, which I wrote to Leo and the Cardinals, but with additions.* If any answer has come, or if there is anything it concerns me to know, pray write by this One-eyed Peter, whom I have sent to England on purpose at my own expense, and who is soon to return hither. A slight fever, which I have suddenly caught, forbids my crossing; and there is also something to be presented to Charles in a few days.†

That Upper Germany was so agreeable to me in every way, that I am heartily sorry I did not know it sooner. Every honour was paid to Erasmus by the Bishop of Basel; although in general he has the reputation of being parsimonious, he offered me money, he offered preferment, and forced me to accept a horse, which soon afterwards, when I left the city, I was able to sell for fifty florins. But this Thraso's part is best played *vive voce*. Farewell, and write at any rate how you are.

St Omer, 5 June [1516].‡

* Sed locupletatas.

† Erasmus had probably arranged with the Chancellor to have an audience with the young Prince, as soon as he received from Basel a bound copy of the book he had prepared for him. Looking forward to this interview, he said to More, *mox cum Principe agam.* See pp. 249, 263, 268.

‡ Apud diuum Audomarum nonis Iunijs. *Farrago.* M.D.XIII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

EPISTLE 402. Farrago, p. 228 ; Ep. viii. 35 ; C. 255 (255).

Erasmus to Dr. Christopher Ursewick.

Your horse has proved a lucky animal for me. He has carried me twice to Basel and back, safe and sound in spite of the dangers as well as the length of the journey. He is now as wise as Homer's Ulysses ; he has seen the manners and cities of many men. He has been at a number of universities. While I was almost killing myself with my labours at Basel for ten months, he got so fat with doing nothing, that he could scarcely walk a step.

It is marvellous, how agreeable that Upper Germany was to me in every way, and how much favour it showed to Erasmus.

You have, no doubt, seen the Greek Testament. Jerome will soon be issued complete ; and also my little book on the Education of a Christian Prince. I have sent the four volumes of Jerome to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the bearer, One-eyed Peter, your pupil, whom I found so intent on transcribing books that he has almost killed himself with work. I think there is some fatality threatening him, he is become so unlike himself. He has even almost turned abstemious, and a wine-hater ; and that is the cause of his unaccustomed paleness.

I shall always remember your kindnesses to me, in whatever corner of the world I find myself. Farewell.

St. Omer, 5 June [1516].*

* Apud diuum Audomarum Nonis Iunijs. Anno M.D.XVII. *Farrago. Sim. Opus Epistolarum.*

EPISTLE 403. Farrago, p. 306 ; Ep. x. 7 ; C. 136 (157).

Erasmus to Linacre.

It is nothing new, and yet it is very pleasant to know by More's letter,* that you are so friendly to us, however little we deserve it. The New Testament is so much liked everywhere by the learned, even of the class of Theologians, that the unlearned hold their tongues for shame.

A slight attack of fever coming suddenly upon me has led to my not undertaking a sea voyage, especially as our doctor, Ghisbert, advises me to avoid it. I have therefore occasion to ask you to send me a note of the medicine, which I took by your advice when I was last in London, as my boy has left your prescription at the apothecary's, and I shall be very glad to have it again. You will learn the rest of my news from More. Farewell.

Croke now reigns at the University of Leipzig, and gives public lessons in Greek.† I want your lucubrations published, to prove the truth of the high opinion which I everywhere express of them ; both because that opinion is well founded, and in order to influence my countrymen to study. If in this matter I can be in any way of service to you, you will find a person most prompt to carry out your wishes.

Again farewell. Commend me to Grocyn, whom, I assure you, I am so far from hating, that I from my heart respect and venerate him. Again farewell.

St. Omer, 5 June [1516].‡

* See Epistle 396, p. 262.

† Richard Croke. See pp. 9, 15, 22.

‡ Ex diuo Audomaro. Nonis Iunijs. *Farrago.* Anno M.D.XIIII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

EPISTLE 404. Epist. ad diversos, p. 492; Ep. xii. 19; C. 255 (254).

Erasmus to William Latimer.

I adjure you in the Name of Letters, sweetest Latimer, to help in the New Testament. It has come out fairly accurate, considering the limited time; but I was disappointed to find that a great part of my own time had to be given up to preparing copy for the press and correcting proofs; although two capable persons had been engaged for that purpose at a considerable cost. You will help, if you let me know by letter, what you think ought to be altered, as I shall soon be at work on another edition; but for the printer's sake, do not let anybody have an inkling of this; if the buyers caught scent of it, his copies might rest on his shelves.

I will not tell how enthusiastically I was welcomed in all that Upper Germany, lest I should appear to be doing so from vanity. I am also courted in my own country; but am so far from seeking these attentions, that I am even ashamed of the honour, which I know I do not deserve. And yet I am glad that Good Letters are beginning to make some progress, and hope it will soon be the case, that Erasmus will be regarded as a child. Farewell.

[St. Omer] 5 June, [1516].*

The following characteristic and generous letter, in which Reuchlin acknowledges the receipt of a copy of the New Testament, was sent to Basel, and forwarded by Froben to Erasmus in Brabant. See Epistle 408. It appears to have been written on the same day on which Erasmus dated his batch of letters from St. Omer, and may have come into his hands some weeks later.

* Nonis Iunijs. Anno M.D.XVII. *Epist. ad. diversos.*

Epistle 405. Deventer MS.; C. 1558 (63).

John Reuchlin to Erasmus.

I received your present from the last fair, sacred as it may be, with some disappointment. You have sent me your bilingual book, accompanied by my manuscript, but without salt, by which you are to understand without a letter from you in evidence of our more than ordinary friendship. One epistle from you, however laconic, might have given me a more delicate sense of pleasure than all Vincentius' *Speculum*, or any other more extended volume.* And yet you know better than any one else from my Moses's Pentateuch,—mine I call him, because I use him for my Cicero,—that he lays down this precept, In every oblation offer salt. Your book is my food, your letters are the comfort of my soul. Pray do not despoil one that reads them with so much pleasure. You alone bring us back some image of the ancient eloquence; the rest of us are a mob. Believe me, when I read your writings, I so despise my own, that I often entirely lay down my pen, out of humour for a time, while I rightly judge that the importance of your studies surpasses all the learned of our age. Not that I envy, so help me Heaven, the advantages which have been bestowed on you by Nature, by your own labours, and by Fortune, but I regret my own times, when I had not the books, nor the teachers, nor any means when I was young, of polishing my speech or my pen. I beg and pray that you will write to me soon, how nicely you get on,† and what you are doing.

* Vincent de Beauvais, a French Dominican of the early thirteenth century, was author of a voluminous work, entitled *Speculum quadruplex*, *Naturale*, *Doctrinale*, *Morale*, *Historiale*, printed more than once before the year 1500. A fine black-letter edition in two folio volumes, without date or printer's name, is in the British Museum.

† quam belle habeas.

Of me you may know this, that my cause is still *sub judice!* My adversaries at Rome have borrowed from the bankers a thousand ducats of gold, as they have done twice before. Trust me as long as a gold piece remains, the plot will hold together, πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπλέκεται,—the natural result of a desire for what is to be got. But I shall follow the example of Hercules, so skilfully depicted in your third Chiliad, and overcome this Hydra of Envy by patience, derived from my daily study of Philosophy. There will come a day that shall set me in the light, and with this in view we play our part. Whatever another may do, I am bound to do what is right; it is as if the emerald should say, Whatever men do, I must still be an emerald. Virtue is never conquered. Farewell, Desiderius most excellent, most desired.

Stuttgard, 5 June, 1516.*

The following undated letter, Epistle 406, with its allusion to a recent rumour of Erasmus's death, and its advice respecting his behaviour at Court, probably belongs to the time when he had very recently returned from Basel to the Low Countries. He had written to Busleiden, probably from Basel, a letter which has not been preserved. The reply of Busleiden has been printed by M. Félix Nève in his book entitled *La Renaissance des Lettres*, p. 122.

EPISTLE 406. Nève, *Renaissance des Lettres*, p. 122.

Jerome Busleiden to Erasmus.†

Your letter delighted me beyond measure, not only because it was yours and I had waited long for it, but because it brought me the assurance of your being alive, when for some months a persistent report, although its authority was uncertain, had proclaimed you dead; and as I was terrified then by that sad intelligence, so now the knowledge that

* Stutgardia 5. Junii, Anno 1516. C.

† Erasmo Roterodamo Germaniæ Decori. *Renaissance des Lettres.*

there was nothing in it has restored me to myself. I trust that we may some day be closer neighbours, having been long united by the same love of virtue, the same studies and the same sympathies, in an indissoluble bond of affection.

To return to your letter,—what you have written too freely about kings, I have seen plainly enough. But it is safer to discuss such passages by word of mouth, than to commit the arguments to writing. You will be wise, if in revising them you curb your pen, and deal more sparingly with subjects of this kind. You must otherwise run the risk of supplying a malicious crowd of backbiters and informers with the occasion for setting Princes against you. How numerous such persons are at Court, you know very well, and I had myself at one time a dangerous experience.

What you write about getting a benefice is not altogether discouraging, although the matter has not yet been brought to a head, as they say. I have great hopes that what has been so solemnly promised, and as often withdrawn, will some day fall in your way. Only, if delay occurs, you must not be tired out, or impatient of the constant worry, but persevere briskly in your suit, and press your Mæcenas every day, as one who has been long and deeply in your debt.

To put my advice into few words: forget your modesty, assume a bold face, unlearn your philosophy, and adopt the part of a shameless suitor, who knocks at his patron's door and wears away his threshold before the shutters are open, and continues his importunity without ceasing until his petition is granted. Farewell.

[Mechlin, June, 1516.]

There can be no doubt that the patron, to whom in this undated letter Erasmus was advised to pay court, was the Chancellor of Burgundy, by whose influence in the month of July, 1516,—probably not many weeks after this letter was written,—Erasmus obtained a Canonry in the church of Courtrai, with the prospect of a bishopric upon a convenient vacancy. See Epistles 424, 430.

In Epistle 407, Deventer MS., C. 1588 (105), Gerard Lystrius, who in September, 1514, had been one of the scholars busy with Erasmus at Basel, and had more lately obtained some scholastic appointment at Zwolle in North Holland, writes, probably early in June, to thank him for the honour of a letter, and to express his continued attachment. The New Testament, as illustrated by Erasmus, was now read even by old men in the original Greek; his commentary on St. Paul's Epistles was fervently desired. The writer mentions with wonder the attitude of Dorpius. This epistle is written from Zwolle, but has no date of day.* Its contents enable us only to assign an approximate date.

After sending off his despatches from St. Omer Erasmus appears to have returned to Brussels, where he remained until the 19th of June. On that day he transferred his quarters to Antwerp, where he probably received the following letter with its inclosures.

Epistle 408. Deventer MS.; C. 1539 (25).

Froben to Erasmus.

I now send the letters we received for you† on the days immediately following your departure, namely, Brief of Pope Leo, Copy of his commendation to the King of England, with other papers adjoined, and Letters of Reuchlin and Pirckheimer of Nuremberg. Your book on the Institution of a Prince, with some other work, is finished in our office. Jerome is approaching completion. We have suffered some time for want of paper, the access to Lorraine being closed, as you found to your cost. But this circumstance will be no great impediment to us, as Strasburg will furnish us with paper enough, if we agree upon terms, the price being somewhat higher. We are obliged to omit that Commentary under the name of Jerome upon the Song of Songs, which

* Ex Zwol, Anno 1516. C.

† Quas a te [*qu.* ad te scriptas] literas accepimus . . . nunc misimus. Epistles 328, 329, 330, 395, 405.

was being copied at Freiburg. It is imperfect, some pages being missing both in the middle and at the end. We are therefore disappointed in the hope we had of bringing out something with which very few were acquainted before.

I intend to print your *Moria* with so much care, that I may be able to say that in this edition I have surpassed myself.

We are all here hoping for your return, and prepared to show you every attention. Father Lachner sends his greeting, as does also his wife, with my wife Gertrude, and all our company. Farewell, dear gossip.†

From our printing office at Basel, 17 June [1516].‡

Epistle 409 is the answer to Epistle 391, which was received by Erasmus some seven weeks after its date. See pp. 251, 252.

EPISTLE 409. Epist. aliquot illustrium etc. Lovanii, 1516, fol. g. 1 ; Ep. i. 7 ; C. 249 (251).

Erasmus to William Budé.

The bearer was already prepared for his journey, when on my return to Antwerp from the Prince's Court on this 19th day of June, your letter was at last delivered to me, having been brought back from Cologne. I will return a Laconic answer rather than none at all.

What am I told? That Budé is indebted to Erasmus, the most fortunate to the most unfortunate of men! I mentioned Budé in my annotations because I wanted to confer some lustre on my work by the splendour of your name. That is what I was aiming at; so far am I from thinking that you are under any obligation to me. * *

† Compater dilectissime. This epithet refers to the relation of Erasmus to his godson, Erasmius, son of Froben.

‡ Basilea ex officina nostra 17 Iunii, Anno 1515. C.

As for the matters in which you partly disagree and partly agree with me and partly are in doubt, I cannot answer on the spot ; in the first place because I am prevented by want of time, and in the next because I have no copy of the book with me ; for before I answer I shall have to read over some passages. That shall be done elsewhere and soon. Meantime I will say generally, that I have so much faith in the judgment of Budé, that if I find he has seriously made up his mind on any point, I shall not hesitate to change my own.

In this work, however, I did what in fact I usually do. I had intended to carry the thing through with a light hand, calling attention to some small details, and just to point out the passages, as it were, with my little finger. Well, when the work was on the verge of publication, I was urged to alter the received version either by correction or by interpretation. The accession of labour, which I thought would be very light, I found in effect to be extremely heavy. I was then persuaded to add some annotations of a more exhaustive kind. The result, as I need not tell you, was that everything had to be rearranged. There was this additional trouble ; I thought, that they had some emendated copies at Basel, and when I was disappointed in this expectation, I was forced to correct beforehand the manuscripts which the printers were to use. Another thing : two fairly good scholars had been engaged to correct the press, one a lawyer, the other a theologian, who had besides some knowledge of Hebrew ; but they, being unpractised in that employment, could not complete what they had undertaken, and I was obliged to take upon myself the revision of what they call the last proofs. The writing and printing of the book were going on at the same time, a sheet being completed every day. Meanwhile, I could not devote my whole time to this business. Jerome was in the press at the same time, and claimed a fair share of my attention. And I was firmly resolved either to die at

work, or to get clear of that treadmill before Easter. When I came at last to the annotations, I was already wearied out and almost broken down ; but I accomplished what I could, considering the limit of time and the state of my health. Some things I purposely passed over, and shut my eyes to many points upon which soon after publication I held a different opinion. Accordingly I am preparing a second edition, in which I earnestly beg you to assist. I shall think it a kindness to be even censured by persons like you ; but you will beware of one thing, that no scent of the proposed new edition shall reach the Public, as we do not want the copies to be left on the printer's hands. I was much pleased with your friendly warning ; although I do not quite understand what you mean by the subtleties (λεπτολογήματα) on which I am fond of dwelling ; except that I candidly think all my observations are trifles, and often wonder what there is in them that some people so highly praise ; for indeed this is done by several persons of importance.

See how hard it is to satisfy the judgment of everybody. Some find fault with me for presumption in touching upon matters of such moment, being myself of so little account. In the *Enchiridion* I ventured to differ widely from our own age, without being deterred by the authority of anyone. In the Adages, a fragmentary work, how often do I roam into the fields of Philosophy and Theology, forgetting, as it may seem, the immediate subject, and take a higher flight than the occasion demands ! This will be best seen, if you read the Proverb, *Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportet* (A man should be born either a king or a fool), or that other, Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύτην κόσμει (Sparta has fallen to thy lot, let Sparta be thy care), or Γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος (War is sweet to those that have never tried it), or *Sileni Alcibiadis* (the Sileni of Alcibiades). For what we have said upon the proverb κάνθαρος ἀετὸν μαιεύεται (the beetle hatches the

eagle), was merely an ingenious jest.* In the book on the Christian Prince I lay down rules on which no divine has ventured to touch. But perhaps it is to Lucian's Dialogues and Euripides' Tragedies, which I practised myself in translating, that you apply the term λεπτολογία. Nothing is slighter than my *Cato*, on which I spent half a day. Still these trifles, however slight, I certainly prefer to any of the productions of Darkness.

For the rest, I am quite aware and do not deny, that many minute dissertations occur in my New Testament; for this was required by the nature of the subject. Nevertheless, if any one will calculate, still more if any one tries the experiment, what it is to make such translations and notes, he will understand that a complete commentary might have been written with not much greater trouble than it cost us to compose those minute observations. And yet these λεπτολογήματα, such as they are, are received with favour by the gravest theologians, who admit they have derived from them a great deal of light; unless perhaps there is nothing but flattery in what is said by so many men of the highest character, whose names I might rehearse, and whose letters I could produce, if I did not hate anything like vain-glory.

If on the other hand I chose to measure myself by my own foot-rule, I should undertake nothing but what is little, and shrink from a burden that is too much for my poor spirit and poor body. And in fact, somehow or other, my mind takes more pleasure in mixing serious thoughts with trifling subjects than in trifling with subjects of importance; and I think nothing more trifling than to shout over those small questions, which make a great many divines think themselves gods; for I may speak the plain truth to you.

With respect to the kind of work I have been about, I

* The comments on the *Bellum*, *Sileni*, and *Scarabeus* proverbs were published separately by Froben, and reprinted by Martens in 1517.

think I have surpassed all that have gone before me, if not in learning, at any rate in industry and care. In the emendation of the Psalter by Jerome himself how many of the notes are almost worthless! And I intend to persevere, if I have only enough of life and strength. I have composed a prelude to the Psalm, *Beatus vir*. I shall go to work on St. Paul. Jerome has come out entirely resuscitated. I have made some translations from Plutarch, in whose works nothing appears to be without weight. Do therefore explain what are the λεπτολογίαι you wish me to avoid. * *

There is a talk at the Prince's Court about putting some gilding upon me. Nevertheless I cannot help thinking that Good Letters are nowhere in less esteem than here. This arises from the want of education among the ruling class. But there is great hope in John Le Sauvage, the Chancellor of Burgundy, who, as he is himself a most learned man as well as one of the highest rank and of the greatest sagacity, shows unstinted favour to persons who are recommended by distinguished learning. If this personage is long preserved to us, there is hope that in our country, as elsewhere, some men may step forward, through whom their Sovereign's reign, in other respects most fortunate, may be illustrated by the monuments of genius. Again farewell.

Antwerp, 19 June, [1516].†

The transaction relating to the canonry of Tournay had left Wolsey under an obligation to compensate Erasmus for his disappointment. See p. 210. But when another stall fell vacant in the same church, it was claimed by the Archduchess Margaret for the Dean of Cambrai on the ground of a former promise made by Wolsey. A letter written to Wolsey on the 20th of June, 1516, by Dr. Sampson, administrator of the diocese, contains the following reference to the pretensions of Erasmus.

† There is no formal date to this letter in *Epistolæ aliquot*. 1516. *Opus Epistolarum*. But see the first clause of the letter.

If it were not for this promise to my lady Margete, I would remember your Grace for Erasmus; because the prebend that he had in Tournay by your Grace, he resigned to Marcellus' son. Notwithstanding I think him not in heart so good English that I should desire many such in Tournay church. And if these promises were now accomplished, some English canons meddled with the other would not be inconvenient, by my poor mind.†

The suspicion that no preferment was likely to make Erasmus 'in heart good English' may well have occurred to Wolsey and to Henry VIII. and may in some measure account for their neglect of the too cosmopolitan scholar. If a divided allegiance was a bar to a Tournay prebend, it was still more so to an English bishopric.

The following letter is worth translating in part, as evidence of the enthusiastic devotion with which Erasmus was regarded by earnest scholars, even though they were faithful adherents to the mode of life which he had himself abandoned.

Epistle 410. Deventer MS.; C. 1559 (64).

Gulielmus Brielis to Erasmus.

On the first scent I have of your return from Germany to Brabant, my dearest Erasmus, I cannot resist having some talk with you by letter, especially as I have not any chance of doing so by word of mouth. * * * I venture to say, arrogantly perhaps, but nevertheless truly, that I am not attached to you by a weaker tie of affection than those who honour, venerate, and love you above all others. And though now we cannot benefit you by any temporal gifts, having left all such things, that we may be sometime

† Record office, State Papers; Brewer's Calendar, ii. 616; *Hall of Lawford Hall*, pp. 275, 276.

enriched by the poverty of Christ Jesus, I have constantly spent, and will still spend for you what I have, the most earnest commendation of you in my prayers, especially in the most holy sacrifice of the altar. Wherefore, my dearest Erasmus, let my request find favour in your eyes, and do not repel me from the number of your friends. * * *

In haste from our Oratorian Cell, 20 June, 1516.†

One of the letters sent from St. Omer to England by the hands of Peter (see p. 268) was addressed to Colet. This has not been preserved; but Colet's answer, which contains his opinion upon the publication of the New Testament, is among the correspondence printed by Erasmus at Louvain in October, 1516. This letter, with Epistle 412 and several others from English friends, was brought to Erasmus by Peter on the return of the latter to the Continent.

EPISTLE 411. Epistolæ aliquot illustrium etc. Lovanii, 1516, fol. g. 7; Ep. ii. 12; C. 1572 (84).

John Colet to Erasmus.

You will not readily believe, Erasmus, how much I have been cheered by your letter, brought me by our one-eyed friend. I have learned from it where you now are, which I did not know before; it also makes me think you are returning to us, which will be a great pleasure to me and to the very many friends you have here.

I understand what you say about the New Testament. Your new edition is bought with avidity, and read everywhere here. There are many that approve and admire your studies, others that disapprove and find fault, and say the sort of things that are contained in the letter addressed to

† Præpropere ex oratoria nostra Cellula, xii. cal. Iul. *Deventer MS.* 21 Junii, Anno 1516. C.

you by Martinus Dorpius. For my part I am so devoted to your studies and so charmed with your new edition, that it produces in me a variety of emotions. At one moment I am full of sorrow that I have not learned Greek, without which we are nothing; at another I rejoice in that light which is emitted by the rays of your genius. Indeed, Erasmus, I am surprised at the fertility of your mind, which conceives so many projects, and brings such important works to birth day after day in such perfection, especially when you have no fixed abode, and are not assisted by any great or certain emoluments. We are expecting your Jerome.

You have done well in writing on the Instruction of a Christian Prince. How I wish Christian princes would follow good instructions! Everything is upset by their mad follies. I am very desirous of having the book; for I am sure that, like everything else of yours, it will turn out perfect. I believe what you say about Germany; but when you quote my words and the account I gave of it so many years ago, I am only surprised at your recollecting them.

You say you would like to be settled quietly somewhere. I should like the same for you, and wish you may be settled both quietly and handsomely. For that is what your age and learning both demand. I should also like you to have, your final residence with us, if we were worthy of so great a man; but you have experienced too often, what sort of people we are. Nevertheless you have some friends here, who esteem you most highly. My lord of Canterbury, when I was with him a few days ago, spoke of you a great deal, and wished very much that you were here. Released from business, the Archbishop now lives in the happiest leisure.

* * * * *

If you will let me do so, I shall put myself at your side, and show myself your disciple by learning Greek, though I am almost an old man; remembering that Cato learned Greek

when old, and observing that you, who match me in age, are now studying Hebrew.

Love me as you do, and if you return to us, you will find me devoted to you. Farewell.

From the country at Stepney, where I am with my mother, who is still alive, and grows old without losing her good looks, and who often mentions you in a cheerful and playful way.

St. Edward's day, the Feast of his Translation (20 June), [1516].*

The above date has been wrongly interpreted in Le Clerc's edition, as equivalent to 13 September. The letter was an answer to one brought by Peter, and was intended no doubt to be taken back to Antwerp by him. See pp. 264, 265, 286.

Erasmus in a later letter speaks of Colet's mother having lived to nearly ninety years (surviving, as he thought, Colet himself), with so smooth a face and such a cheerful manner, that you would suppose she had never mourned a kinsman, or brought a child into the world. She had had eleven sons and eleven daughters, and of all her children the Dean, who was the eldest, was for many years the only survivor. Ep. xxiv. 16; C. 1445B. Sir Henry Colet, the Dean's father, was buried in the chancel of Stepney Church.

In the following letter of Archbishop Warham, it is interesting to see how confidently the writer anticipates the lasting honour which his connection with Erasmus has undoubtedly conferred upon his name. A copy of this epistle, slightly varying from that published by Erasmus in the book entitled *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* and reprinted in Le Clerc's edition, C. 260 (261), is preserved in the collection of Deventer, and is printed in Le Clerc's Appendix. C. 1559 (65). The passage about the money in the second clause, was for the most part omitted in the original publication, but has some interest, as showing the trouble which the Archbishop was taking about Erasmus's supplies. See the note in the next page.

* In die Sancti Edvardi: in festo suæ translationis. *Epistolæ Aliquot.*

EPISTLE 412. *Epistolæ s. q. elegantes*, p. 231; Ep. ii. 8; C. 260 (261); Deventer MS.; C. 1559 (65).

Archbishop Warham to Erasmus.

Having gained by your means the eternity of a name not devoid of praise (a distinction denied to many great kings and emperors, who have fallen altogether out of men's memory, and survive only in a mere barren list of names), I do not see what there is in this mortal life, which can be a sufficient return for immortality! When I think of the honour that you have everywhere attributed to me,—whether in my presence by word of mouth, in my absence by letters, or in public by your books,—the weight is more than I can sustain. You will therefore think Canterbury most ungrateful, if he does not entertain a faithful and most constant esteem of Erasmus, however unequal to his merits.

If the sixty nobles have not yet been paid you in some form of exchange, it has been the fault of Maruffo, who* undertook that you should not want those nobles, or even more ample supplies. He professed that he had given you a letter of credit, by which you might receive a larger sum from the merchants wherever you were. This is the message brought me by Bedill, whom I have sent more than once to Maruffo and More about the business. But in order that you may not be kept any longer out of the receipt of that sum, I have sent it to-day, as you desire, to More, and I do not doubt that he will provide for its payment to you at Antwerp without trouble or delay.

* Maruffus in culpa est, qui &c. (sic.) *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes.* In *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529, and later editions, the word mensarius is substituted for Maruffus. So in C. 260c. The rest of the paragraph, which is omitted in the earlier editions, is printed from the Deventer MS. in C. 1560A, from which it is translated above.

I have communicated your publication on the New Testament to several of my brother bishops and doctors of Theology, who agree in declaring that you have executed a work exceedingly well worth doing. Adhering to their judgment, and deeming all things to be excellent that proceed from your divine wit and manifold learning, I exalt it with every praise; as well as those important labours upon Jerome, which you have now nearly completed. By these works you will earn an immortality of fame among mankind, and a heavenly reward among the Saints above; from me whatever service I can suitably bestow. I received by the bearer of this letter the volumes of Jerome, for which, as well as for the New Testament, I return you endless thanks,—I mean for the labour you have spent upon them.

In conclusion I beg you to forward the accompanying letter to my excellent and reverend brother, the Bishop of Basel. Pray make haste to recover from your indisposition, that we may see you here all the sooner.

Otford, 22 June, 1516.*

In the above letter, as originally printed, the date is the 22nd of July; but in C. 1560 (65) it is printed from the Deventer manuscript with the date 22 *Iunii*, which is more probable, having regard to the dates of Epistles 411, 413, and 414. All these letters were probably sent to Brabant with Erasmus's messenger, one-eyed Peter. See Epistle 419.

In EPISTLE 413, dated 22 June [1516], C. 1609 (142), not published by Erasmus, but preserved in the Deventer Manuscript, the Archbishop's secretary, Thomas Bedill, assures Erasmus, that upon his return to England Warham was bent on providing for him a delightful home, in which after his Herculean labours he might grow old in learned ease.

The following short note from Ammonius, in answer to Epistle 401, was sent to Brussels by the hand of a friend, together with a copy of

* Otfordiæ. xxii. die mensis Iulij. *Epistolæ s. q. eleg.* Ortfordia 22 Junii, Anno 1516. C. 1560c.

the Pope's letter to Erasmus. See Epistle 419. The letter sent through Pace was, no doubt, Epistle 377, of which the writer had kept a copy, and now sent a duplicate to Erasmus.

Epistle 414. Deventer MS. ; C. 1526 (7).

Andreas Ammonius to Erasmus.

I have always to excuse myself on account of my occupations, as the person to whom I am giving this note will perhaps be able to explain to you. I could not write earlier in answer to the letter you last sent me from St. Omer; but I did reply to your other letter, as you will perceive by the copy I add to this. I despatched my letter to our friend Pace, but am not sure whether it was delivered to him; I understand well enough, that it was not received by you.

The Pope has written back most kindly, and encouraged you to hope. He has also taken great pains to commend you to the King here ; I am keeping his letters, which they call Briefs, for you, and desire to see you here as soon as possible. Take care, my Erasmus, and keep your health as well as you can ; and love me, as it is a great pleasure to me to be loved by you.

London, 22 June [1516].*

In the summer of this year Thierry Martens of Louvain printed the two first books of the Greek Grammar of Theodorus Gaza in the original Greek, with a Latin translation of the first book supplied by Erasmus, and a Preface addressed by the latter to Joannes Cæsarius of Jülich, dated at Antwerp on the eve of St. John Baptist (23 June), 1516,—Epistle 415.† In this epistle the editor congratulates his own

* Londino 22 Junii, Anno 1514. C.

† In a later edition, published by the same printer, the second book was also translated by Erasmus, with a second dedicatory epistle to Cæsarius, dated at Louvain, 20 Feb. 1518. Both the editions here mentioned are in the British Museum.

age upon the revival of the study of Greek, which had been welcomed in Poland, in Scotland and in Ireland, and urges his correspondent to encourage this study in the schools of Cologne, which had been somewhat behindhand in receiving the new learning.

Among the letters from English friends brought to Erasmus by his messenger, Peter, were Epistles 416 and 417 from Bishop Fisher and from More. The former as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and executor of the will of Lady Margaret Beaufort, was now preparing for the opening of Christ's College.

Epistle 416. Deventer MS. ; C. 1587 (103).

Bishop Fisher to Erasmus.

Though I am hampered by a great deal of business, and preparing to go to Cambridge for the opening of the College, which is to take place at last, I do not like to let your Peter go back to you without a letter from me. You have made me your debtor in a vast amount of thanks by presenting me with the New Testament translated by you out of the Greek. As soon as I received it, and had seen the notes in several places, in which you extol your Mæcenas of Canterbury with such ample praises, I went off to him myself, and showed him those passages. When he had read them, he promised that he would do a great deal for you, and exhorted me, if ever I wrote to you, to persuade you to return. And indeed I do not doubt, that if you do so, he will be more liberal to you than ever.

I have written myself to Reuchlin. I do not know whether he has had my letter, but I will write again. His letter to you has reached me safely. Its prolixity gave me much pleasure. He appears to me to hold the palm over all living authors, whose works I have read, in the treatment of abstruse questions of Theology and of Philosophy.

Take care of your health and hasten your return to us, which will be welcome to everybody.

Rochester, [June] 1516.*

The following letter of More, which is printed without date of time, answers Epistle 399, written at Brussels on the third of June.

Epistle 417. Deventer MS.; C. 1664 (252).

More to Erasmus.

You bid me, dearest Erasmus, to write fully to you about every thing, which I am all the more disposed to do, as I understand that you were pleased with my former letter, as a proof of my love. But when you say, that you were also pleased with it because it showed my proficiency in power of expression, you invite me at once to be silent. For how can I be disposed to write to you, if my letters are to be curiously weighed and examined? And when you compliment me on my scholarship, I blush to think, how much I am losing every day of the less than little I ever had; which cannot but be the case with one constantly engaged in legal disputations so remote from every kind of learning. If therefore you weigh my words, that is to say, if you count my errors and barbarisms, you bid me hold my tongue; but if you are content to hear about your business and mine in whatever speech comes to my pen, I will tell you first about your money, as of most importance. As soon as I had received your letter, I sent for Maruffo, and told him that you had written a letter to the Archbishop, to the effect that you had received the money by his agency. "Give me therefore," said I, "either the money, or a bill by which he may obtain it at Antwerp." "I will do so," said he, "as

* Ex Roffa, Anno 1516. C.

soon as I have received from my lord of Canterbury the money, which* after such a letter from Erasmus I do not doubt will be made payable at once." "But Erasmus," said I,† "has written two letters; one to the effect I have mentioned, which he said was not to be handed over unless upon the receipt either of the money or of a bill; and another (which he directed to be substituted in case the money was refused),‡ in which he informs the Bishop, that no money has come to hand. The man on hearing this, being afraid of giving offence to the Bishop, at once wrote out a bill and gave it to me, and received your letter to the Bishop, which he forwarded immediately with one of his own, in which, as if in expectation of thanks, he stated that he had already some time before sent you the money, and had now at last received a letter from you, in which you acknowledged the receipt, and that you had sent, inclosed in the letter to the Bishop, the quittance§ showing the payment made to you (this I had said when he demanded a quittance); he therefore begged his lordship to be pleased to order the sum to be repaid, for which he had waited so long. The Archprelate, when he had read this letter of Maruffo,—for he happened to read it before he read yours,—proceeded to open your letter, in which he failed to find any quittance, and looked at his feet and on the ground, to see if the paper had fallen there on his opening the letter. Finding nothing, he bade those present bear witness, that no quittance had been inclosed. Afterwards, when he read your letter, he no longer expected to find any quittance, as he learned

* postquam a Cantuarensi accepero, quam: *read* postquam a Cantuarensi pecuniam accepero, quam.

† inquit: *read* inquam.

‡ quas iussit negata pecunia substituit (*read* substitui).

§ te misisse litteris episcopi inclusam apocopen. This last word occurs five times. It appears to be used of a document given by the person receiving the money due on the bill.

that the money was still to be paid. This he immediately sent to me with a message, that I was to see it forwarded to you as quickly, and upon as advantageous terms, as possible. Next day Maruffo came back frantic. "Master More," said he, "you have made the worst of blunders; you have kept back the letter which you ought to have shewn to the Bishop, and sent him the one which ought especially to have been kept back." "What say you?" said I, "that is indeed a blunder. See what it is to employ a one-eyed messenger, for it was he and not I, that made a mistake in picking out the letter. Certainly that letter was delivered to you, which he said, and no doubt believed, to be the right one." "But let me at any rate," said he, "have the other, which may restore my credit with the Bishop, now almost destroyed either by your fault or the messenger's." "Unfortunately," said I, "I have been too cautious in this transaction, for being aware, that the letter which showed the money to be due ought to be put out of sight, and supposing that that was the one I had retained, I unfortunately threw it into the fire for the purpose of making you secure." Upon this he was furiously angry; but I did my best to console him, and promised in the kindest way to put the whole confusion right. I have therefore told the Bishop, that Maruffo had long ago written to authorize you to receive money in his name, and had believed that you would do so; but that you had been unwilling to run into debt; and in that way it had come to pass that, while he supposed you had been receiving, you wrote that you had not. But if this fiction of mine is refuted by your letter, I must think of something else, that I may not lose the confidence of the Archbishop, while I endeavour to restore the credit of another. Meantime I have given Maruffo's bill back to him, having placed the money elsewhere more to your advantage, as you will receive thirty stufers four deniers of Flemish money for every Pound English, while he was giving seven deniers less in the Pound.

The lord Cardinal received your letter and the books you sent him, with much appearance of pleasure, and promises most liberally what I hope he will perform.

I am truly glad on your account, that Basel is so agreeable to you in every way, as I would have you find everywhere what you like best, but not so that as to shut us off entirely from you. If we cannot furnish the conveniences they supply, we certainly do not yield to them in love. I have read through that bundle of letters, written by learned men who approach you with the veneration you deserve, but I find nothing strange in that.

Pace is not come back, nor is he as yet expected. I have no doubt you know he is made King's Secretary. I hear you have met Tunstall, and have been his guest, since he has become Master of the Rolls. As to our small verses I say nothing; please settle the matter for me. I want to know what you think of my Epistle to Dorpius. Farewell, dearest Erasmus. My Clement sends his best greetings to you.

London [June 1516].*

For the Epistle of More to Dorpius, mentioned above, see p. 223 and for John Clement, see p. 262. It would seem from the last clause of the above letter, that some of More's verses were already in Erasmus's hands. They were published at Basel by Froben in 1518 under the title of *Epigrammata*, with a dedication to Pirckheimer Marsden, *Philomorus*, p. 1.

Among the friends in England who took the opportunity of renewing their correspondence with Erasmus by means of his messenger one-eyed Peter, was his countryman, Sixtinus. See vol. i. p. 268, and Epistles 254, 258. The recent appointment of Tunstall to the office of Master of the Rolls, which is mentioned in this letter as well as in that of More, was made by Patent dated 15 May, 1516. Brewer *Abstracts*, ii. 1882. The holder of this office was sometimes styled Vice-Chancellor; and the title of Chancellor, attributed to Tunstall in the letter of Sixtinus, is perhaps an error of the transcriber.

* Londino, Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 418. Deventer MS. ; C. 1874 (494).

Sixtinus to Erasmus.

For old acquaintance sake it was a pleasure to me to see our one-eyed friend, but much more welcome was the news he brought of your intended return, about which, having regard to the dangers of the roads just at this time, I was beginning to despair. Your illness gives me some uneasiness; but I trust you will soon recover, as Peter reports not a serious but a slight attack. I am engaged in my usual business, that is, in the conduct of law-suits, a troublesome occupation in itself, but not so bad, when the profit is considered. I will deliver your welcome greeting to our friend, John of Cologne, to-morrow; for your letter has not come to hand until to-day. I am glad you have met the Chancellor and the Bishop of Chieti ; the former has, since you left, obtained this position, in which he will be more able to help his friends, having to the satisfaction and joy of everybody been declared Master of the Rolls. I am not without some longing for our land where you are, but am under such obligations to this most excellent, gracious and accomplished King, that for his sake I could readily disregard country, kinsmen, brothers, parents* (if they were alive again), and everything else. Your friends here are in good health. You will, I suppose, have heard from them all. Farewell to your Excellency.†

The bearer of this may be trusted in what he has to say to you for me.

London, 26 June [1516].‡

* præsentes, *read* parentes.

† Tua praestantia valeat.

‡ Londino 26. Junii. C.

The title of Excellency, with which the writer bids farewell to his correspondent, may be attributed to the recent appointment of the latter as a member of the Prince's Council.

EPISTLE 419. Farrago, p. 232 ; Ep. viii. 41 ; C. 156 (177).

Andreas Ammonius to Erasmus.

Thinking Cocles * was gone, and having a friend who was crossing to Brussels, where I guessed you would soon be, I sent you by him three hasty lines, together with a copy of the letter which I wrote to you some time back, and sent through Pace.† I added to these the so-called brief addressed to you by the Pope, retaining another copy of the same, which I now send by your Cocles. The other brief, in which the Pope earnestly commends you to the King, I keep for you, since if you had it where you are, you would bring it back with you here, and it might be lost in the passage.

I long to hear your German story from yourself. We shall talk it over better by word of mouth.

You are anxiously expected here, not only by me, but by everybody. Larke himself, who is supreme with my lord of York, has prepared a present in honour of your arrival. Pray take all the care you can of yourself.

Westminster, the sixth day before the Calends of Quintilis, for I hate the name of Julius, 26 June [1516].‡

* *Cocles*, a Latin *cognomen* originally meaning one-eyed, is used for Erasmus's one-eyed messenger, Peter. See p. 272.

† The hasty lines and the more important earlier letter here mentioned are Epistles 414 and 377. See p. 291.

‡ Sexto Calen. Quintiles, odi enim Iulianũ nomen. Ex Vuestmoñ. *Farrago* ; Anno M D.XV. *add. Opus Epistolarum.* Ammonius shared with Erasmus a dislike for the memory of Pope Julius, and therefore preferred to call the month of July by its other name.

The following letter, which is without year-date in the original, refers to some papers of Erasmus in the hands of Lupset, about which Erasmus being uneasy, had sent him a letter by Peter, probably one of the budget from St. Omer. Among these papers was a manuscript of the famous satirical dialogue known as *Julius Exclusus*. See the letter of More (Epistle 488) in which he refers to the papers of Erasmus which were in Lupset's possession. Epistle 420 was probably just written in time to be conveyed to Erasmus by Peter.

Epistle 420. Deventer MS.; C. 1852 (459).

Thomas Lupset to Erasmus.

Although I might learn from Terence's Parmeno, that he is doing a doubly foolish thing, who loves a person by whom he knows he is hated, since he both takes on himself a useless anxiety, and is irksome to the other, nevertheless, I cannot help heartily loving, respecting and venerating you. What your feeling is towards me I have understood very thoroughly, partly from your letter last sent me, and partly from that in which Colet accused me. In very truth I have done you wrong, not at all by malice, but very much by thoughtlessness. I supplicate for pardon, and will submit to any sentence you pass upon me. I would have delivered to Peter the things I took of yours, if I had not thought it safer to keep them till you come to us. When you return, I will restore them whole and, believe me, untouched. Farewell. I would burden your ears with a longer letter, if I were one that could do so in fit terms and in good Latin; or if I knew that you would be ready to read whatever I might write. Again farewell, and love me, if you can.

London, 28 June [1516].*

* Londino, 28 Iunii. C.

A letter from Alardus of Amsterdam to Erasmus, dated from Louvain the 1st of July, 1516,—EPISTLE 421, Deventer MS.; C. 1560 (66),—incloses a translation in Latin verse of the Greek Hymn inscribed by Erasmus to our Lady of Walsingham;† and refers to the labours of Cornelius,—probably Cornelius of Gouda,—upon Jerome, and to some *tirocinia* (I suppose early literary exercises) of Erasmus and his old friend William (Herman), (whom the writer of the letter calls his preceptor), preserved at the writer's convent.

The following letter of Budé (Epistle 422), written in answer to Epistle 409, was forwarded to Erasmus by the printer, Josse Bade of Paris, together with a letter of his own, Epistle 423. Budé's letter, which contains some candid criticism of his correspondent's literary work, as well as of his handwriting, was printed in the collection edited by Peter Gillis in 1517.

EPISTLE 422. *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, p. 34; Ep. i. 9; C. 256 (257).

Budé to Erasmus.

I received your letter five or six days ago, and should have read it most eagerly, if I had not been hindered by the difficulty of spelling it out, so carelessly and hastily was it written. Doubtless the messenger, with his travelling cap on his head, was continually asking when it would be ready. Now I regard your writing me a long letter so rapidly and without formality as no slight evidence of intimacy and friendship. * * *

But it was not pardonable, that you wrote *sine die ac consule*, without any date at all.‡ Do see that in future you put me to less inconvenience, as I shall read with pleasure anything you may send, provided you use the handwriting in which your letters are generally written, and which I know to be fair and clear. The fact is, you sent me a draft instead of a proper letter. But you ought to consider that,

† See p. 68. The translation of Alardus is printed after this letter in C. 1561, and, with Erasmus's verses, in Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, App. xliv, xlv.

‡ See note p. 284.

if you continue to write so negligently, you may suffer some considerable prejudice by your neglect. For I not only preserve your letters among my literary treasures, but I carry them about, almost like the holy sacrament, because I think my character is concerned in its being generally known that there is such an intimacy between us, and also that I may make use of your eulogies against the detraction of others, if the occasion should arise. * * *

I have read your Preface and Apology to the New Testament, and have looked at the Notes in several places. Your last Proverbs I have ordered to-day from the bookseller for your sake. I had thought it enough before to have the old edition, not indeed to read them through, but to go to them like the Sibylline Books, when the occasion arose. The *Sileni* passage † and some others I had read in other people's copies, when I was with friends, as these were the passages which I heard most talked about.

I have spoken with your friend Linacre, more than once, and have exchanged visits with him. I judge him to be an excellent scholar, and he seems good and kind, without any appearance of arrogance. I sent him a copy of my *De Asse*, as the book came out just at the time of his departure. He had said to me in conversation, that some of the things, which I am very confident I have explained, could not possibly be made clear in the present day; and I on the other hand had undertaken to do it, at which he was surprised. The acquaintance thus made will occupy an honoured place in that Register in which the name of Erasmus is written in large letters. * * *

I now come to the λεπτολογήματα, a word which escaped somehow from my pen. I meant to speak of some minor writings, which,—to deal frankly with you,—will appear to posterity to be falsely ascribed. One of these is the book

† *Sileni Alcibiadis*. See pp. 282, 283. The edition of the Adages which Budé had borrowed was probably Froben's edition of 1515.

De Copia, which to me, and to many persons of some note who are admirers of yours, does not seem to be worthy of so great a title, including in the title not only *Copia*, but *Erasmus*. That book however, and several others, I have not carefully read. But when I have heard others talking of them, I have sometimes said, that I missed in Erasmus a mind content with what is sufficient, as you had not been satisfied with being a man of much learning, but must be a man of much writing too. This I thought had come in the way of your better ideas. * * *

I have written this letter in the midst of business, and just on the point of starting for the country. You must not think however, that I am taking holiday from domestic cares. I am building two houses on two estates at some distance from each other, houses almost on the scale of Lucullus, to which I have to run backwards and forwards, or else to pay the penalty for my sloth by a considerable increase of expenditure. How easy all this is to a person of studious habits and without experience in such matters, and above all with no great funds at his command, you will judge for yourself. Farewell and be fortunate in your gilding,* so as to have all your wishes fulfilled.

Paris, 7 July [1516].†

The letter of Bade (Epistle 423) in which the above Epistle of Budé was inclosed, was not published by Erasmus, but was printed by Le Clerc from the Deventer MS., where it has the date, Parisiis, 6 Julii, Anno 1516. But as the Epistle of Budé is dated on the 7th of the same month, and we cannot ascribe the letter, in which it was mentioned and enclosed (p. 303) to an earlier date, I have ventured to date it on the following day. These letters were sent from Paris to Ghent by the official Messenger of the Council of Flanders, which had its head-quarters in the latter city (Epistle 460), where they were received by Antonius Clava, and forwarded by him to Erasmus on the 3rd of August. Epistle 432, p. 311.

* See p. 284. † Parisijs nonis Iulij. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*; 1517 *add. C.*

Epistle 423 may serve to illustrate the condition of the book trade at the time. Compare Epistle 460. The phrase, 'a sop to Cerberus' (Cerbero objecta ofella) had probably been jestingly used in a letter of Erasmus, in which he proposed to send to Bade a revised copy of the *Similia*. This book was printed by Schürer in the autumn of 1514, and issued in the following December (see p. 165). Editions by other printers had appeared; and Bade also published an edition on the 29th of November, 1516. See Epistle 460. Froben's new edition of the Adages was printed in 1515; Bade's has the date 21 June, 1516.

Epistle 423. Deventer MS.; C. 1561 (67).

Josse Bade to Erasmus.

Sweetest Erasmus, I have lately received two letters from you, and with the first the work on Similes revised; which, though I accept it,—more as a pledge of friendship than as a sop to Cerberus,—yet, as it has been lately printed by our friend Thierry of Alost, I shall not venture to commit it to our press from fear of doing him damage. For I have a higher respect for friendship than those who, after the *Copia Verborum* had been sent to me as a great present, not without a preface of your own, very considerately relieved our labours by printing that work, and who, when the Adages were so solemnly promised to me, sold all their copies for not less than a Philip a-piece, a year and a half before I got back the price of one, not having yet received the whole text. I had made up my mind to take my revenge for this injury by printing the New Testament with those very types procured for quite another purpose. But I forgive it all, sweetest Erasmus, in consideration of your friendship and that of our host. Your printers need not be anxious, at any rate about the first impression; I will not hurt them, if they only behave civilly; but I expect them to spare me in return.

So much for that matter. I delivered your letter to our Budé, who has sent the enclosed for you,—also that to

Lefèvre, who has the greatest respect for you and greets you heartily. All the good do homage to you, and the bad scarcely venture to find fault ; by bad I mean the revilers of good literature. Pray give my greetings to our hosts, James and Peter, with their charming wives ; and farewell.

Paris, [8 July], 1516.*

Erasmus's expectation of church preferment by the favour of Chancellor Le Sauvage was not altogether disappointed.

EPISTLE 424. Deventer MS.; C. 1561 (68).

John Le Sauvage to Erasmus.

You will do well, if you will call here, on the first opportunity that you have. For if you have made up your mind to remain in these countries, and to live quietly and pleasantly here in respectable leisure,—which you cannot do elsewhere except in great toil,—I will at once get a Prebend or Canonry of Courtrai conferred upon you. And that will not be the only benefit which you may confidently expect from the munificence of our lord, the King Catholic. Farewell.

Brussels, 8 July 1516.†

Bishop Ruthall, though he had lately had a letter from Erasmus had not yet received the volume of Seneca printed by Froben in the previous July. The Arnold with whom the book had been left, was probably Arnold Edward. See vol. i. p. 235.

EPISTLE 425. Farrago, p. 180 ; Ep. vii. 8 ; C. 196 (215).

Erasmus to Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham.

Most distinguished Prelate, I heard from one-eyed Peter, by whom I lately wrote to your lordship, that the volume of

* Parisiis 6. Julii, Anno 1516. C. See p. 302.

† Ex Bruxella 8 Julii, Anno 1516. *Deventer MS.*; C.

Seneca had not then been delivered to you. Francis confesses that it was left with Arnold, from whom you will recover it, if you have not already received it. We, thank Heaven, are better, and shall soon, I hope, revisit our old patrons. God grant we may find them all safe and well. Do not doubt that I am entirely dedicated to your service.

Antwerp, 9 July, 1516.†

After writing the above note, probably on the same day, Erasmus hastened to obey the Minister's summons (Epistle 424), and went to Brussels, where he met Tunstall, who was there during the greater part of this month; and saw Paludanus on a visit from Louvain. From Brussels on the following day he despatched a short letter to Dorpius referring to a course of lectures lately commenced by him.

EPISTLE 426. Epistolarum Opus, 1558, p. 1117; Ep. xxvii. 58; C. 1807 (423).

Erasmus to Martinus Dorpius.

I have heard with great satisfaction, what Paludanus has told me about you; how heartily, in your Preamble, you condemned those, who neglecting divine literature, spend their lifetime upon frivolous questions; and with what a trumpet-call you exhorted your audience to the study of Holy Scripture. A blessing on your sense and courage! Your aim is right. That is the way to the Stars!

* * * * *

I told Tunstall, the English ambassador, what I had learned from Paludanus. Believe me, the man jumped for joy at your taking up this work with your whole mind. You will earn the approbation of Christ; you will commend your name to the world, and do a thing that will give not only pleasure but profit to all the studious.

Brussels, 10 July [1516].‡

† Antuuerpiæ. vii. idus Iulias. *Farrago.* M.D.XVI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

‡ Bruxellæ sexto Idus Iulias. *Epistolarum Opus.*

The above Epistle was answered by the following, which was probably written only a day or two later. It appears that Erasmus had already communicated to Dorpius his intention of transferring his residence to Louvain.

Epistle 427. Deventer MS.; C. 1660 (247).

Martinus Dorpius to Erasmus.

I would have you persuaded that what has been told you by Paludanus is as true as anything can possibly be. I will really show that spirit towards you which he has described. I will suspend my judgment, and act as becomes a fellow academician.* Meantime I entreat you by that candour of mind that distinguishes you, not to believe that any part of the obloquy or calumnies or suspicion, of which some persons have been guilty, has proceeded from me. When you come, we can discuss this matter more fully. I will do my best to show you, that I have been really and sincerely your friend. Meantime we had better be silent! I only beg you to fly hither as soon as you can.

The bearer of this, John Laengenfeld,† is a Bavarian, who, I think, from the little I have seen of him, is an honest, candid and learned man. He is very devoted to your name and glory, and has expressed the strongest wish to see you, being convinced that my introduction will have some weight with you, as I trust it will. He has no favour to ask of you, except that he may speak with you, and admire.

Whatever has arisen to separate us, I trust that we may put it away, and cultivate a sincere friendship. If there is any thing amiss, you will satisfy all in your next edition,—supposing that there are some weaker brothers who need to be fed with milk. For we have, like Paul, "to be all things to all men," and therefore weak to the weak. For my own

* Academicum agam.

† Joannes Longicampanius.

part I will show myself to be a Christian friend, nor was it ever my intention to do otherwise. Farewell, and and take the trouble to converse with some of our Divines, especially with our Principal, who is most learned and most kind, and has had a long experience of the World, as my friend Master Peter Atrebas will more fully explain to you.

Farewell again, and give my friend Laengenfeld the kind reception he deserves.

Louvain [July, 1516].*

Before the receipt of Budé's letter of the 7th of July, Erasmus had sent the following postscript to his letter of the 19th of June. The language discussed is that of the first sentence of St. Luke's Gospel.

EPISTLE 428. Epistolæ aliquot illustrium etc. Lovanii, 1516, fol. g. 6; Ep. i. 8; C. 259 (260).

Erasmus to Budé.

I have got the book and looked up the passages. I do not agree with you in thinking that παρακολουθεῖν is the same as *assequi*.† If a man grasps with his mind some difficult proposition, he is rightly said *assequi* (to overtake). But one who attentively follows in thought a person who is speaking, παρακολουθεῖ (accompanies). I have taken note of many examples out of authors, which agree in this; and even those cited by yourself are in my favour.

You point out, that the Evangelist must first have learnt everything in order, and then have written. In the first place, my translation agrees with what you want, except that the printer instead of *persecutus* has put *prosecutus*; and for the rest I indicate both senses in the notes, so that

* Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

† In the Vulgate παρηκολουθηκότι (Luc. i. 3) is translated *assecuto*, and in our English Translation, 'having had understanding of.'

we may refer παρηκολουθηκότι either to the order of investigating and learning, or to the order of narration. I see that either of these interpretations may be fairly maintained; but I maintain nothing, leaving it free for the reader to choose which he pleases.

Now about κατηχήθης,* which I have rendered as if it had been κατήχησο, and about which you seem a little dissatisfied; you know it is an aorist tense, which may apply, if I am not mistaken, to any past time. I therefore translated it by the pluperfect, to show more clearly, that the disciple had learnt these matters before baptism. Thank you for quoting examples from authors, of the word κατηχεῖσθαι. But I do not think, that one can be said to have made a slip in his memory, when he says he does not remember, for in that case there is no one that does not slip, as no one remembers everything; but a person who owing to forgetfulness writes or asserts a thing contrary to fact, may properly be said to make a slip in his memory.

I have made the few observations above, already prepared for travelling, after returning tired from Court; and you cannot do anything more welcome to me than if you continue your friendly admonitions. Farewell, glory of Gaul, and high priest of Letters.

[Brussels and] Antwerp, 14th July [1516].†

Count Hermann Nuenar writes to Erasmus from Cologne, thanking him for a letter received on the 1st, and congratulating him on the publication of the New Testament. In reading the words of exultation contained in this epistle, we realize how great a step had been suddenly made in the direction of the Reformation.

* Ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφελείαν, translated by Erasmus, Quo agnoscas eorum de quibus edoctus fueras certitudinem. *Luc.* i. 4.

† Antwerpiæ pridie idus Iulias, *Epist. aliquot; Sim. Opus Epistolarum*; Anno 1517. *add. C.* From the words near the end,—Hæc paucis attigi iam ad iter accinctus et ab aula fessus,—I conclude the note to have been written at Brussels, and despatched from Antwerp.

EPISTLE 429. Deventer MS ; C. 1562 (69).

Nuenar to Erasmus.

* * * *

Your New Testament has my approval, as it has that of all good men. Would that the whole Bible, translated in the same way, were in our hands ! Farewell to the malevolent, the money-lovers, the sophists, who are pleased with nothing but the rubbish that they produce themselves, men of a preposterous, sordid and illiberal spirit ! Away with all the greedy doctors, who care only for earning bread, and not for the reformation of manners, consuming in every tavern the sweat of the poor. * * *

Cologne, 14 July, 1516. †

The following epistle strikes a very different chord, relating as it does to a traffic in church-preferment, on behalf of Erasmus himself. It is a letter from Chancellor Le Sauvage's secretary concerning the transfer of some benefice, probably the canonry of Courtrai, to another incumbent in exchange for a pension. The amount which Erasmus hoped to obtain—thirty Pounds of Brabant—would have been about equal to £20 sterling ; the pension he received from Aldington. The person who came to terms with him about the Courtrai prebend, probably the purchaser recommended by Barbirius, was Johan van Hondt, called in Latin Canius. In a letter to Barbirius, dated 6 March, 1518, Ep. iii. 20, C. 306 (307), Erasmus mentions the honorable punctuality, with which this pension was paid. We see in this letter, that the ministers were at that time proposing to promote Erasmus to a Bishopric.

EPISTLE 430. Deventer MS ; C. 1562 (70).

Peter Barbirius to Erasmus.

After the despatch of my letter to your mastership, and after the receipt of your letter on the 11th of July, I found

† Ex Colonia Agrippinensi Ubiorum 14. Julii, Anno 1516. C.

out, that the young man, who had first asked for the *sacerdotium* (you know what I mean), and for whom, after you, I saw that my lord had a liking, was not capable of taking it, being a post that requires the incumbent to be in holy orders, which he is not and cannot yet be. This circumstance will be for your advantage, as you will obtain far more from some one else. I do not think however, that it can come up to thirty Pounds of Flemish money. Those whom I have consulted say, that it is worth a hundred Philips. But there is one person who has offered me twenty-five Pounds of the said money, to be assigned on the Abbey of St. Michael of Antwerp, and unless you find any one else making a decidedly higher offer, I recommend him to your mastership, both on account of the security of the assignment, and because he is an old friend of mine.

It is ascertained, that the Archbishop of Saragossa is not yet dead. I hope however that, when any vacancy arises, my lord will himself bear you in mind.

You will be pleased to signify to me your intention as to the *sacerdotium* ; and I will carry out whatever you order. The matter calls for despatch. You know that Opportunity, as she flies, has a bald side to her head, so that you may try to catch her in vain. Farewell, Master Erasmus, beloved as a father.

Brussels, 18 July, 1516.*

Erasmus appears to have left Antwerp, about the end of July or beginning of August, for the purpose of paying a short visit to England. We may assume that he crossed the Channel by Calais and Dover. Before making this journey, it seems probable that he spent a day or two at Louvain. See p. 311. The object and circumstances of the English visit will be described in the next chapter.

* Bruxellis 18. Julii, Anno 1516. C.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Visit of Erasmus to England. Letter to Leo X.; Correspondence with Ammonius and Bullock; August, 1516. *Epistles* 431-442.

ABOUT the end of July or beginning of August, 1516, Erasmus came for a short time to England, leaving his literary materials at Antwerp. Before attempting to explain the object of this visit or to describe its incidents, we have, in pursuance of our chronological arrangement, to notice three letters, which were probably addressed to him at Antwerp or Brussels, and either followed him to England, or more probably awaited his return to Brabant.

Petrus Viterius, whose name Erasmus had placed at the head of a dedicatory preface to an edition of his treatise *De Ratione Studii,* which was published in the summer of 1512 (Epistle 251), writes to him from Paris, Aug. 2, 1516,—EPISTLE 431, Deventer MS., C. 1563 (71),—informing him that he has obtained a post as Professor in the College of Navarre.

A letter from Antonius Clava, dated at Ghent, Aug. 3, 1516, EPISTLE 432, Deventer MS., C. 1564 (72), seems to show that Erasmus was at that time at Louvain, as it conveys the writer's salutations to Joannes Paludanus, to Adrian Baarland, and to Rutgerus 'Dryopolitanus.' I do not find any other evidence of a visit to Louvain at this time, but the distance from Antwerp is not great. Clava forwards to Erasmus a letter addressed to him by Bade the printer of Paris, with another from Budé inclosed, which had been received at Ghent on the 31st of July. See p. 302.

A letter from Thomas Grey to Erasmus, dated at Paris, on the 5th of August, mentions the *Enchiridion* lately printed at Strasburg (Schürer, Strasburg, 1516), and conveys a greeting from Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples, who was growing old and was in feeble health. It also contains allusions to the writer's family, which may be of assistance in his identification. See vol. i. p. 115. The conclusion of this letter is valuable as showing the reverence with which the writer, who was under strong religious influence, appears to have regarded his former instructor, with whom he had been so long and intimately acquainted.

Epistle 433. Deventer MS.; C. 1564 (73).

Thomas Grey to Erasmus.

* * *

If by the favour of God I should ever be permitted again to enjoy your much desired society, and to nourish the health of my soul with maturer fruits from the same soil from which I formerly received the sweetest and most wholesome seed, there will be nothing more for me to covet in life. If therefore this can be done at any time without trouble to you, pray let me know it. If this should come to pass, I shall most faithfully serve you, together with my children, with no less good-will and reverence than if my parents had come back to me in your person.

You have acted the part of a most indulgent preceptor in taking the trouble to return me my letter corrected; and bound to you as I was before, have if possible, rendered me still more obliged. I implore you for my sake to treat this letter in the same way. I have waited for some time with no ordinary longing for your handwriting from Brabant. Do therefore write back to me as soon as you can. Farewell, second hope of my soul, and bear me in mind, as I do you.

Paris, 5 Aug. 1516.†

† Parisiis 5. Augusti, 1516. C.

The main object of Erasmus's visit to England in August, 1516, was to obtain the counsel and assistance of Ammonius in a matter, which was of no little importance as affecting his material interests, and his peace of mind. He had already obtained church preferment both in England and in Brabant, and it appeared likely that other and higher posts would be offered him. But the illegitimacy of his birth would have been a sufficient ground for declaring his Orders invalid, and thus setting aside any such appointment; and this weakness of title had made it expedient for him, in the case both of the Rectory of Aldington and of the Canonry of Courtrai, to accept a pension of smaller value in exchange for the benefice. It now appeared to be possible, with his interest at the Papal Court, to obtain such a Dispensation as would meet all such objections for the future; but for forwarding a petition of so confidential a nature, it was expedient that he should be in immediate personal communication with his best ally, Ammonius. While he remained in London, Erasmus was the guest of More in the street called Bucklersbury in the city of London, and was able to arrange his course of action with the advice of his two most confidential friends.

It appears to have been determined, that the business of the Dispensation should be transacted through the Bishop of Worcester, who was resident at Rome, and acting there as the agent of the English Government, and with whom Ammonius, himself an old protegé of the Bishop, was in correspondence as Latin Secretary to King Henry. At the same time Erasmus was advised to address in his own name an epistle to Pope Leo. It will be remembered that during a former visit to London in April, 1515, he had composed an epistle to the Pope, who had sent him a letter in reply, at the same time writing in his favour to King Henry VIII. Epistles 323, 328, 329. See p. 208.

In addressing the Pope again (Epistle 434), he refers to his letter of April, 1515, and to the gracious answer which he had received. His new Epistle is dated on the 9th of August (1516); but does not appear to have been despatched immediately, as it was a subject of discussion in some of the following letters to Ammonius. It will be seen, that in writing to the Pope, Erasmus does not think he would advance his cause by representing himself as a needy scholar, whose claims have failed to obtain due recognition from noble and princely patrons. He was before a Court, in which he did not think it expedient to plead *in forma pauperis*.

EPISTLE 434. Epistolæ aliquot illustrium etc. Lovanii, 1516, fol. d. 2 ; Ep. ii. 6 ; C. 158 (181).

*Erasmus to Leo X.**

I thought I should be abundantly fortunate, most blessed Father, if your Holiness had only not condemned the temerity, or importunity, with which I ventured unbidden to address a letter to the eminence of Papal dignity, and, what is more august, to the incomparable majesty of Leo. But this audacity has, I find, turned out most happily for me. Your more than paternal kindness has surpassed both my hopes and my wishes. Without any solicitation you have sent two briefs, in one of which you distinguish me and my studies with a testimonial as complete as it is authoritative, and in the other you recommend me no less lovingly than earnestly to the King's Majesty. It is the highest object to deserve the approbation of the Almighty ; and next to this I certainly think it is, to be commended by the oracular voice of the Supreme Pontiff, still more by that of Leo, that is to say, of him who, invested with the highest of all human dignities, graces it in turn by every kind of excellence and learning. If those despatches had reached me in time, as I was then at Basel, no perils of travel could have deterred me from flying to the feet of your Holiness. But having returned to my native land, while advancing years somewhat impede my movements, I am also kept back by the liberality of the Government, and tied to home by the extraordinary affection of my country ; the most illustrious Prince Charles, King Catholic, the incomparable light and glory of this our age, in whose dominions I was born, and by whose father Philip I was not only known but loved, having invited me to his Court,

* Leoni decimo Pontifici vere maximo Erasmus Roterodamus S.D. *Epist. aliquot.*

while I was abroad, with the promise of an annual salary, and that without my either soliciting or expecting it, and immediately upon my return having conferred on me an ample and honorable benefice.† On the other hand I have found by the surest proofs, how much the King of England's early predilection for me, how much the good-will of the most reverend Cardinal of York, and the archbishop of Canterbury's old interest in my behalf have been increased by the commendation of your Holiness, which was both more agreeable to me and more effectual with them, inasmuch it was not extorted by any asking on my part, but spontaneously bestowed.

Seeing myself therefore so much indebted to your Holiness, I have conceived the wish of becoming still more obliged. Indeed I shall be glad to owe my whole fortune and the sum of my felicity to Leo alone ; and it is to my mind no inconsiderable part of happiness to be indebted without grudging.‡ What my request is, will be orally explained by the reverend Father the Bishop of Worcester, the resident envoy of the king of England at the Court of your Holiness, and will be signified by letter by Andreas Ammonius, your Holiness's Nuncio in England ; in which matter I do not doubt I shall experience that goodness which your letter freely promises, and which I am also led to expect from the benevolence of your character, whereby you recall the image of Christ, whose worthy vicegerent you are ; especially as the business is of such a nature as not so much to concern my own credit, to which you have a sincere regard, as the general interest of the world,§ for which your solicitude is ever on the watch. I might have misemployed the recommendation of the greatest Princes to obtain the favour I am seeking, but I prefer to owe whatever benefit it may be to your goodness alone. * * *

† See p. 304.

‡ nonnulla felicitatis pars, debere libenter.

§ publicam orbis utilitatem.

The New Testament in Greek and Latin, revised by us, together with our annotations, has been published for some time, under the safeguard of your auspicious name. I do not know whether the work pleases every one, but I find that up to this time it has certainly been approved by the most approved and principal theologians, and among the first by that incomparable prelate, Christopher, Bishop of Basel, who witnessed its printing. For by this labour we do not intend to tear up the old and commonly accepted edition, but to emend it in some places where it is corrupt, and to make it clear where it is obscure; and this not by the dreams of my my own mind, nor, as they say, with unwashed hands, but partly by the evidence of the earliest manuscripts, and partly by the opinion of those, whose learning and sanctity have been confirmed of the authority of the Church,—I mean Jerome, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, and Cyril. Meantime we are always prepared either to give our reasons, without presumption, for anything which we have rightly taught, or to correct, without grudging, any passage where as men we have unwittingly fallen into error. We sent one volume to Rome last winter, still fresh and warm from the press, which I suppose was delivered to your Holiness; and I would send the other now, if I did not know that there is no place in the world where the work is not by this time within reach of every body. Although the greatest pains have been bestowed upon it, so far as the limit of time allowed by the Prince,* and the condition of my health admitted, yet I shall never be tired out, and will never rest, until I have made it so complete and so correct, that it may appear not altogether unworthy of the great Pontiff and great personage, to whom it is dedicated.

The revised Jerome will be published next September.

* Temporis modus a Principe indulti. Erasmus appears to wish the Pope to suppose, that his movements were controlled by orders from the Burgundian or Flemish Court.

It will be, I think, an auspicious revival, and is expected with much interest by all the learned. And in future no page will be produced by Erasmus, which will not carry with it some praise of Leo. * * *

Farewell, and may Christ long save your Holiness, to illustrate and propagate His religion, and to relieve the troubles of mankind.

London, 8 August, 1516.†

The above epistle was after some little delay forwarded to Rome by Ammonius, with a humble letter of his own, recommending to the indulgence of His Holiness the petition of Erasmus, the particulars of which would be explained by the Bishop of Worcester. EPISTLE 434b.‡

Sixtinus, who was practising as an ecclesiastical lawyer in London, wrote about this time a short note to be conveyed by Erasmus to Peter Gillis, whom the writer had entrusted with the management of some business, apparently at Antwerp, to which he wished Erasmus to be one of the witnesses. EPISTLE 435; C. 1874 (495). This note, which is preserved in the Deventer manuscript, is dated in London on the 12th of August [1516]. We may presume that Erasmus was now preparing to leave that city; a few days after, we find him staying at Rochester.

The following letter from Cambridge was probably addressed to More's house. The writer, Dr. Henry Bullock (Bovillus), a Fellow of Queen's College, where Erasmus had once been resident, addresses him as Preceptor, having probably been one of his Greek Class in 1512 or 1513.

EPISTLE 436. Epistolæ aliquot illustrium etc. Lovanii, 1516, fol. d. 8; Ep. ii. 9; C. 197 (216).

Henry Bullock to Erasmus.

Your return to England, learned preceptor, is most welcome to all your Cambridge friends, and to me above all

† Londini quinto idus Augusti. An. M.D.XVI. *Epistolæ Aliquot.*

‡ Vischer, *Erasmiana.* Basel, 1876, p. 24.

others, as I am in many ways more bound than any one else to you. How gladly therefore should I see you at Cambridge, so that, if I cannot respond as I should wish to the many benefits I have received at your hands, I might at least show my readiness to do so. I am indeed most anxious to see you, and to remain always with you ; but am prevented by a fortune which has hitherto been somewhat grudging ; otherwise, wherever in the world you went, I should certainly follow you.

People here are hard at work upon Greek, and earnestly hope for your arrival. The same set are much delighted with your publication of the New Testament. Good Heavens, how elegant it is, how clever, how charming to every person of sound taste, and how much required ! But I must not pursue this subject further.

There is a youth here, who by dint of begging has prevailed upon me to recommend him to you,—one Edmund * * * ,† of honest character and very much attached to you ; he has got it into his head that his happiness will be secured, if he can be received into your household. Therefore you will oblige me, if you will write back whether you will have him, and take some notice, however brief, of my having recommended him, as otherwise he will not believe that I have written, although I have often promised to do so. Farewell, glory of our age.

Cambridge, 13 August, 1516.‡

Towards the middle of August Erasmus was becoming impatient to return to the Continent, and to his literary work. He was also afraid that he had outstayed his welcome with Mistress More. The commencement of the season of the chase had dispersed many of his

† Edmundus Polus arduus. The last words represent, I presume, some English name, perhaps Pollard.

‡ Ex Cantebrigia idibus Augusti. *Epistolæ aliquot.* Sim. *Opus Epistolarum.* Anno 1516, C.

patrons; but we should scarcely have expected to find a sportsman in the elderly Rector of Hackney. The following note was written while Erasmus was still at More's house, see p. 313, probably on the 13th or 14th of August, 1516, and left with More for delivery to Ammonius. Epistle 438. The writer had called at Hackney Rectory on the preceding Monday; and in that year the 11th of August was Monday.

EPISTLE 437. Farrago, p. 206; Ep. viii. 14; C. 117 (133).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I pray, that all this sport, with which you are so busy, may be as lucky for you as it has been unlucky for me. In the first place it takes the King out of my reach. Then by the Cardinal's going it has delayed me several days. Besides, I had sent a New Testament to catch Ursewick, and wrote him a letter to ask for a horse he had promised me; but when I called on Monday to see him, he too had just set out for the chase, and was not expected back for a week. In similar fashion Thynne has stolen away. And now at last you are carried off by the same pursuit. I must therefore transact by letter what I wished to do by word of mouth. Please unseal the letter to the Pope which has been copied out by the boy. I think the writing is not quite what it ought to be. If you consider it worth while, take the trouble to have it rewritten more carefully, and add this to your other good offices.

I commend my safety to you, taking no pains to entreat one in whom I trust with all my heart; nor making splendid promises to a friend, whose kindness if I could repay, I would rather do so by deeds than words. I have really some hope, that what we are doing will be successful, because it is done not only by a person most dear to me, but by one that brings the best luck to Erasmus. Farewell.

There were two things that might have kept me some days in England, one, the hope of a horse from Ursewick, which he was certainly going to give me, and the other, a talk with you, if it were not that I am tired of the country, and feel myself becoming a stale guest to More's wife. May a happy oracle soon come back through you. Again farewell.

[London, August, 1516.]*

The above letter, and also that which follows, addressed from Rochester to the same correspondent, refer in part to a matter which is purposely kept in obscurity, as the letters might fall under other eyes beside those of Ammonius. Epistle 437 appears to be the last written by Erasmus in London during this visit. We may conjecture, that on the following day he had already started on his return from London to the Continent. On his way to Dover, he stopped at Rochester to bid farewell to Bishop Fisher. The Bishop had been encouraged by the publication of the Greek Testament to take up the study of Greek; and Erasmus was pressed to remain for a few days to assist him in this study. The following letter to Ammonius may very probably have been written two or three days after his arrival at the Bishop's house, when he found himself engaged to prolong his stay beyond what he had intended when he parted from his correspondent in London. The 17th of August was Sunday, and in order to complete the ten days promised to the Bishop, the writer could not leave him before the end of the week which was then beginning.

EPISTLE 438. Farrago, p. 223; Ep. viii. 26; C. 125 (144).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

The Bishop of Rochester has insisted on my staying with him ten days, but more than ten times over I have repented of my promise; so that I am quite convinced of the truth of the proverb, *ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτη* (pledge yourself, and mischief

* No date in *Farrago*; M.D.XI. *Opus Epistolarum.*

follows).* Meantime I am to translate him from Latin into Greek. This metamorphosis have I taken on myself!

I had been trying to catch Ursewick by sending him a New Testament, in the hope that he would send me in return a new horse, my old one having taken his death by drinking, I mean, in that Flemish plague. But as he is away for the chase, my chase was made in vain. On this account I have sent my boy back to town, thinking at the same time he might fall in with you, so that if anything else occurs to you, you may let me know; for we are not off before the end of the week. I wrote to you by More before I came away, and left a copy of my letter to Leo, but not properly written out. For the Muses' sake, Ammonius, befriend me as usual; I shall not forget your kindness. Farewell.

The value of your service will be very much enhanced if it can be quickly accomplished. We shall sooner shake off this cloud of anxiety, and if any outcry should be raised, shall be more secure. Farewell again.

Rochester, 17 August [1516].†

EPISTLE 439. Farrago, p. 210; Ep. viii. 27; C. 125 (145).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

I thought you were in such a hurry to cross the Channel, that I did not dare to ask you to stay even a couple of days. But I see that I might have ventured; though we are not all bishops of Rochester, indeed very few of us equally worthy of enjoying Erasmus's society. I do not doubt your pledge will be fulfilled without the mischief you speak of.

No wonder the sporting season has been unlucky for you, a person not accustomed to follow his game in coverts of that

* See *Adagia*, Chil. I., Cent. vi., Prov. 97.

† Roffæ. xvi. Calendas Septembres. *Farrago. Sim. Opus Epistolarum.*

kind. But you will find your trouble repaid with interest ;* though it is a new transformation, to change books into horses. But as I see you want a horse, I will make you a present of a white one, that has been brought me from Ireland! You know how much this colour was once valued. Take him such as he is, without thinking yourself in my debt.

The letter you left with More has been delivered to me. I think we may be satisfied with the letter to Leo as it was. As to your business, nothing occurs to me different from what has been agreed between us. I continue to approve of that fiction,† but as to the care you must take about it, how I wish I could pour advice into both your ears, as they say. Depend upon it, I will attend to the matter no less earnestly than if my own life were at stake. But you must not expect much rapidity; for despatches are not so easily sent, and the soldiers occasion much alarm. At any rate you may be sure, that I shall not omit any pains which the greatest zeal can suggest. Farewell, and commend me with much respect to my lord of Rochester.

Westminster [18 August, 1516].‡

The date of the above epistle as printed in *Farrago* (see note below) is manifestly erroneous; compare Epistles 438, 440. For Sextiles we must read Septembres, and for Septimo (vii°) we may perhaps read Decimo quarto or Decimo quinto (xiv° or xv°). The words, by which the writer gives his sanction to a fiction which Erasmus has in his mind, Commentum illud constanter probo, refer, if I am not mistaken, to the Epistle to Grunnius. See p. 338.

Erasmus's servant, John Smith, appears to have been sent to Ammonius, and to have returned with the horse presented to his master by that generous friend.

* Cæterum id tibi fœneratum dices. *Farrago.* The writer in this sentence alludes to Erasmus's visit to Ursewick. See p. 319.

† Cōmentum illud cōstanter probo. *Farrago.*

‡ Septimo Calen. Sextiles ex Vuestmoñ. *Farrago.* M.D.XIII. *add. Opus Epist*

EPISTLE 440. Farrago, p. 223 ; Ep. viii. 28 ; C. 125 (147).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

My John would certainly have had a beating, if More had not come just in time to take his part. For as soon as our friend knew that we had pulled up at Rochester, he hurried down, to have another look at Erasmus, whom he seems to fear he will not soon see again. He advised the servant to lead the horse off to the stable, after your spontaneous offer of it. I see you must be more cautiously dealt with, as you take hold of every handle for making a present. I should have sent your gift back, even if More had advised the contrary, had I not been afraid you would suspect, either that I did not like it, or that I was unwilling to be obliged to Ammonius, whereas there is no one to whom I am more willing to be obliged, as there is no one I love more dearly. May I die, Ammonius, if I do not value and love that magnanimity and true friendship of yours, more than all the bustle of a Papal fortune. I can never think myself unfortunate so long as such friends are preserved to me.

I am delighted with the horse, which is distinguished by its spotless colour, but more commended by the spotless sincerity of its giver. I should have preferred to play the part of robber upon some one else, as my lord of York, Colet or Ursewick. But they know better ; although the last does promise a splendid horse, and I have no doubt will fulfil his promise,—not at the Greek Calends, but at those of October.

Farewell, Ammonius, most learned and most kind. I shall write to my lord of York and to Larke from Brabant.

Rochester, 22 August [1516].*

* Roffæ. XI. Calendas Septembres. *Farrago.* Anno M.D.XIII. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

Epistle 441, containing the apology of Erasmus for the publication of the New Testament in its original language with a new Latin translation, a work which would naturally be regarded with some suspicion by theologians of the old school, was doubtless intended not so much for Bullock's private perusal, as for circulation in the University of Cambridge and subsequent publication by the Press. It was accordingly accompanied by copies of the Letters of Pope Leo addressed to Erasmus and to king Henry VIII., and was published with them in one of the earliest printed collections of the correspondence of Erasmus, the title of which has an especial reference to those epistles: *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum ad Erasmum et huius ad illos*, Louvain, Oct. 1516.

The letter written to the same correspondent shortly before, which is mentioned in the first paragraph, has not been preserved.

EPISTLE 441. Epistolæ aliquot illustrium etc. Lovanii 1516, fol. e. 1 ; Ep. ii. 10 ; C 126 (148).

Erasmus to Henry Bullock.

I gather from your letter, that mine, which I left with Thomas More in London, had not yet been delivered to you. I am glad to recognize and welcome your old affection for me, and hope that we may be permitted some time or other to return to our former intimacy and most delightful companionship in study. I am going to pass the winter at Louvain. You must consider, what suits you best.

I am truly glad to hear, that the New Testament, as restored by our industry, is approved at Cambridge by the best people ; although I have been told by some credible persons, that one of the most theological of your colleges, composed of pure Areopagites, has passed a serious resolution, that no one shall either by horse, or boat, or cart or porter, bring that volume within the precincts of the college. I beseech you, most learned Bullock, ought one to laugh or weep over such proceedings ? * * *

They say it is wrong to attempt such a work unless by the authority of a General Council. * * * But I should like to have an answer from them to this question. Was that very version, of which they are so fond, undertaken by the translator under the authority of a General Council, or was it first published, and afterwards approved by the judgment of the Fathers? I believe it was written first, and approved afterwards; and the same may take place with respect to my edition, though that is a thing I neither solicit nor expect. But I have conceded too much; it is more probable that the received version crept into use, and only gained strength by the progress of time. For if it had been approved and promulgated by the public judgment of a Council, it would have been in universal use. As it is, one text is cited by Ambrose, another by Augustine, another by Hilary and another by Jerome. Indeed the copies now in use do not agree. So that, if they think the Christian religion is upset if there is any variation in any part of the book, we were already subject to that risk, though we may have been sleeping through it.

But, say they, the received version is used by the Fathers in their Synods. But it remains to be proved, that the passages cited in the acts of Councils differ from our emendation; while it must be remembered that most of the proceedings of Councils were conducted in Greek. And finally it may well be, that passages originally cited in another form have been changed by some copyist to our present version, as we constantly find has been done in the Commentaries of Jerome and Ambrose. About twenty years ago the Missal and book of Hours were being printed at Paris according to the usage of the Church of Trèves; but the printer, who had but a smattering of learning, when he found there were many discrepances, corrected everything according to our usual version, as he himself confessed to me, thinking he was doing a fine thing! Again, I do not think it absurd to suppose,

that an error may pass unnoticed by a General Council, especially in matters not necessary to salvation. It is enough, that what is enacted in the Synod itself cannot be censured. Finally, why are we more alarmed at a various reading in the Sacred Books, than we are at a various interpretation? Surely there is equal danger in both cases. And we constantly find that the explanations given are not only different, but conflicting.

Again, let them clear up, if they can, this dilemma. Do they allow any change to be made in the sacred text, or absolutely none at all? If any, why not first examine whether a change is rightly made or not? If none, what will they do with those passages where the existence of an error is too manifest to be concealed? Will they desire to follow the example of the priest, who having been used to say *mumpsimus* for twenty years, refused to change his practice, when told that he ought to read *sumpsimus*? * *

Suppose I had explained all the sacred books in a Paraphrase, so that they might, without injury to the sense, be read with less stumbling and be more easily apprehended, would your friends bring me to book for this? Juvencus, who ventured to turn the Gospel history into verse, gained some praise by his work. And who calls to account that great divine, Ægidius Delphus, who embraced almost all the Scriptures in a poem? The Psalms are sung every day in church according to the old edition; and yet there is Jerome's recension, and also his translation after the Hebrew original. The former is read in choirs, the latter in schools or at home; and the one does not interfere with the other.†

† Our own Prayer-books retain a similar peculiarity, the Psalter being taken from the English Bible of 1540, founded upon the Gallican Psalter of St. Jerome; while the Bible text is the work of the translators of 1611, who were however directed in this part of their work to follow the old Bible version, as revised by Archbishop Parker (1568), so far as accurate translation permitted. Blunt, *Annotated Prayer-book*, p. 536.

Indeed Felix Pratensis has lately issued a new translation of the whole Psalter, differing considerably from all the former ones, and who has raised any outcry against him? My friend, Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples, had already done for St. Paul what I have done for the whole New Testament; and why are some people disturbed on this occasion, as if nothing of the kind had happened before? Do they intend to refuse to me alone a liberty they allow to every one else? Lefèvre, however, has ventured much further than I. He has set up his own translation in opposition to the old, and that in Paris, the Queen of all the Universities. I, professing only to be a reviser, either correct or explain a few passages. In saying this, I have no intention of casting any reflection upon Lefèvre, who by his high reputation has long raised himself above reflection; I wish only to make it manifest, how unfair it is, when a thing has been constantly done by a number of people without any blame, to reproach me for doing it, as if it were something unprecedented.

What have the Aristotelians lost, since Argyropylus, Leonardus Aretinus and Theodorus Gaza brought out a new edition? Will it be held that their version ought to be suppressed or abolished, to save those earlier professors of Aristotelian philosophy from the appearance of having been ignorant of some particulars? Or is William Cop prevented from translating the books of Galen and Hippocrates by the fear of letting the world know, that former physicians have put a false interpretation on many passages?

But it will be said, that what is expedient in human science is a serious danger, if applied to the sacred books in all parts and by anyone who pleases. Now in the first place I do not change all parts, for there is only a question about a few passages, the main substance remaining unaltered. Neither do I quite think that I am to be regarded, with reference to this matter, as one of the ordinary crowd. I show how in some places Hilary has been mistaken. So of

Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas. And this I do, as it ought to be done, reverently and without contumely, so that, if they were themselves alive, they would thank me, whatever I might be, for setting them right in such a way. They were men of the highest worth, but they were men. Let my opponents prove that they were right, and refute me by argument, and I shall be greatly obliged to them. * *

But they think it beneath them to descend to these small details of grammarians. For so they call those who have learned Good Letters, thinking the name of grammarian a severe reproach, as if it were a credit to a theologian not to know grammar. It is true that the mere knowledge of grammar does not make a theologian; still less does ignorance of it; and certainly some scholarship conduces to a knowledge of theology, while the want of it impedes such knowledge. Indeed it cannot be denied that Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine, on whose authority our theological system mainly rests, belonged to the class of grammarians. For at that time Aristotle had not yet been received in the theological schools, and the Philosophy which is now in use there, was not yet born. But a modest man will not object to be set right by any one. "Though he be blind that shows the way, you still may pay him some regard," as Flaccus says.†

Again, those who make the whole question depend, not on judgment but on authority, cannot find any great defect in my case. It was provided in the late Lateran Council,‡ that a book, before it is published, shall be approved by the Ordinary or his delegates. Now our book was both written and published with the knowledge and approbation of the Bishop of the place, and that no common bishop, but one who, not to speak of the reverence due to his age or of the

† Cæcus iter monstrare velit, tamen aspice. Horat. *Epist.* i. 17, 4.

‡ in hac synodo. *Epist. aliquot.* in hac synodo Lateranensi. *Opus Epist.*

dignity of his birth, is distinguished by a singular integrity of life and no common learning. Indeed he not only approved my work, but made me every possible offer, if I had been willing to remain with him ; and when I left, pursued me with such kind offices and with so much munificence, that I am ashamed to recall the circumstances. Not content with this, he wrote of his own accord to the Archbishop of Canterbury, both commending me in most honorable terms and thanking him on my behalf. So that, if my labour has not been approved by a Synod, it has at any rate been approved according to the ordinance of a Synod. And the person approving is of such authority that he alone may well stand in the place of many; while his vote ought to have all the more weight, as it was not obtained by any solicitation or obsequious attentions, but was spontaneously offered and almost forced upon me. And if the authority of a single person is wanting in weight, the Bishop's judgment has been backed by two professors of Theology, who are at the head of that profession. One of these is Louis Bère, a man so practised in the theological arena, as to have earned the first place at Paris among the Doctors of that faculty. He disapproved our work so much, that he offered to share with me all his fortune, which is most ample; and has spontaneously put at my disposal one of the two prebends which he holds. The other is Wolfgang,* who on account of his distinguished theological knowledge has been chosen one of the Chapter of Basel Cathedral, where he fills the office of public preacher, a man who, besides other accomplishments, is pre-eminently skilled in three tongues, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and finally is a person of so much integrity and piety, that I have never seen anything more stainless. These were the witnesses

* Vuolphangus. *Epist. aliquot.* Fabritius Capito. *Opus Epist.* The latter name was adopted at a later time. See Epistles 449, 522.

to the publication of my book, in whose judgment the Bishop upon the gravest matter would not hesitate to confide, if he was not certain of his own.

Neither indeed have any other theologians condemned our work. Only some have lamented that they did not learn Greek when they were boys, and that for them the book has come into the world too late. I might relate, what that venerable Prior of the Carthusians at Freiburg, Gregory Reisch, whose opinion has the weight of an oracle in Germany, and that eminent theologian, James Wimpfling, have thought of our edition ; I might produce numberless letters of distinguished persons, in which they thank me, because they have been made both better and more learned by my lucubrations, and especially by what I have published on the New Testament. For not to speak of others, you know yourself, my dear Bullock, what kind of person is that excellent prelate of Rochester, the Chancellor of your University, both in respect of virtue and of learning. And those dunces are not ashamed of hooting down what so great a man as he approves and reads. Indeed they are not ashamed of tearing to pieces, upon their own judgment, what is approved by the Pope himself. For if he did not approve my works, why should he have written, that he would consider it a handsome present, if I dedicated to him the whole outcome of my studies? I had shown him by letter what I was about, desiring to find out whether he wished the work to be inscribed to him. He immediately repaid my single epistle by two. The one is a loving, complimentary and learned answer to mine ; in the other he commends me and my studies to the king of England. You will see yourself, with what zeal and effusion he does this, for I am sending you herewith a copy of each of these letters. The two Cardinals, Grimani and St. George, also sent me letters in answer to mine ; but those letters were sent by Andreas Ammonius, one of your Britain's chief

ornaments, to Richard Pace (the king's ambassador to the Swiss and to Maximilian), to be forwarded to me, as I was then at Basel ; and I have not yet received them. We sent last winter one volume to Leo, to whom it is dedicated, and if it has been delivered, I do not doubt that he will requite our vigils with the highest rewards.

What is it then, that these people find deficient in me ? I have not been the first to take this matter in hand ; I have not done it without consideration ; and I have followed the rule of the Synod. If anyone is influenced by learning, my work is approved by the most learned; if by virtue, it is approved by the most upright; if by authority, it is approved by Bishops, by Archbishops, by the Pope himself. Nevertheless I do not desire to obtain any advantage from their support, if it be found that I have solicited the favour of any of them. Whatever support is given, has been given to the cause, and not to the man.

Are your friends perhaps afraid that, if students are attracted to these subjects, their schools will be emptied? Let them take these facts into consideration? About thirty years ago nothing was taught at Cambridge but Alexander, the *Parva Logicalia*, as they are called, those old 'dictates' of Aristotle, and questions from Scotus. In process of time Good Letters were introduced ; the study of Mathematics was added, and a new or at least a renovated Aristotle. Then came some acquaintance with Greek, and with many authors, whose very names were unknown to the best scholars of a former time. Now I ask, what has been the result to the University? It has become so flourishing, that it may vie with the first schools of the age, and possesses men, compared with whom those old teachers appear mere shadows of theologians. This is not denied by the senior men, where you find any of a candid character. They congratulate others on their good fortune, and lament their own infelicity.

Are your friends displeased, that in future the Gospels and Apostolic Epistles will be read by more persons and with more attention? Are they grieved to see even this portion of time devoted to studies, on which all our time would be well bestowed? And would they prefer that our whole life should be consumed in the useless subtleties of 'Questions'? Is it not well to recall such divines to the original sources? * * *

I have a sure presentiment, that posterity will form a more candid judgment of my lucubrations, such as they are; though I have no cause to complain even of my own age. It has rated me higher,—I do not say than I ask, but than I either deserve or can justify. * * *

I approve of your having adopted the practice of public preaching, and congratulate you on your success, especially as you teach Christ in simplicity, without any display of the subtleties of men.

I will answer very shortly what you write about the boy. I have more than enough in one, and have no wish to be burdened with more.†

Please take the trouble to greet in my name the friends whose memory I bear in my heart, Dr. Fane, the most learned John Brian, the most courteous John Vaughan, the most obliging Humfrey, and my old host, Garrett the bookseller; for I hear that Watson is away. Farewell, most learned Bullock.

The Bishop's house at Rochester, August 1516.‡

† See p. 318.

‡ Roffæ, in ædibus Episcopi pridie Calendas Septembres. *Epist. aliquot.* M.D.XVI. *add. Opus Epistolarum.* It appears that Erasmus wrote to Reuchlin from Calais on the 27th of August, and was at Antwerp on the 3rd of September. Epistles 447, 452. In the present letter we may perhaps read *decimo* for *pridie*. This date (23 August), if the letter was written towards the end of his visit, would allow three or four days for the journey to Calais. It will be remembered that he had promised to stay ten days with the Bishop, and was not disposed to prolong his visit. See pp. 320, 321.

The next letter is from another Cambridge friend, to whom Erasmus had written from St. Omer. See p. 268. John Watson was a Fellow of Peterhouse from 1501 to 1517, in which year he retired from the College, having been presented in November, 1516, to the rectory of Elseworth near Cambridge. Knight, *Erasmus*, p. 145. He was now at Cambridge, but had lately been travelling on the Continent. See the end of the last Epistle. We may conjecture, that he had been attached as secretary to the English embassy at Venice. It is of some interest to observe, that Watson in his travels had visited a gentleman in Switzerland, who possessed a fire-arm so light and handy as to be carried at his girdle. Returning to Cambridge, Watson had received on the 11th of August the letter which Erasmus had written to him in June from St. Omer. In the following Epistle he greets Erasmus as preceptor, having probably attended his lectures, when he was Greek Professor, 1511-3.

Epistle 442. *Epistolæ s.q. elegantes*, p. 129; Ep. i. 23; C. 160 (183).

John Watson to Erasmus.

I received on the 11th of August the letter you wrote me on the 5th of June, and that believe me, sweetest preceptor Erasmus, not without immense pleasure, as I learned from it, not only that you were well, but that you had obtained favour and rank at the court of your native prince Charles. You made me a handsome present in writing me a letter, for upon my life such is my feeling towards Erasmus, that I value two or three pages of his writing, addressed to me, almost as much as the best living that could be given me. I can imagine you laughing and saying 'Tis honest of you to add *almost*.' I frankly confess, that I do not not altogether despise those material advantages; but I am not so attached to them as to prefer them to Good Letters and the friendship of learned men, provided one has enough to live decently. Indeed your epistle was so welcome and is so precious to me, that if my condition and my wishes were

backed up by corresponding opulence, I would pay a gold crown for every letter of it.

I am constantly more and more impressed, when I see Erasmus growing greater as he advances in years, and showing himself every day in a new and more exalted character. You are celebrated everywhere in Italy, especially among the learned of the highest note. It is incredible, how favourably your *Copia* is everywhere received; and your *Moria* regarded as the highest wisdom. I met many persons who seemed to me to think themselves more learned, because they were among your acquaintance, and with whom I was myself in higher esteem on that account. Raphael Reggio * still lectures at Venice on Quintilian, with a salary from the public Treasury. He is learned and fairly eloquent, but far inferior to that other professor there, who teaches Greek with a like public salary, but whose name has slipped my memory; he knew you very well and sings your praises loudly.† I had a talk almost every day with Ambrosio the doctor, whom you mention under the Proverb δὶς διὰ πασῶν, in the druggist's shop at the sign of the Coral. He made much of me for your sake, as did also Petrus Calcidonius,‡ whom I thought an excellent talker, and many others. Aldus's father-in-law the bookseller at the sign of the Anchor, spoke of you I do not know how often, and promised his house and every kindness, if you were ever inclined to go there. Your fame is spread throughout all the Christian world; but as others enlarge on the riches of your varied learning or extraordinary eloquence, nothing strikes me so much as the modesty with which you are ready to take the lowest place, while the general suffrage sets you in the highest. The kind of literary skill which you enjoy is apt to inflate the possessor of it, and as it puts him in a

* See vol. i. p. 449. † Probably Marcus Musurus. See vol. i. pp 440, 441.
‡ So *Epist. s.q. eleg.* and *Opus Epist.* Halcionius. *Ed. Lond.*

peculiar class, to separate him from familiarity with his kind; but you are all generosity in communicating yourself to others; and having for your object the welfare of all, you do not despise the friendship of any. Therefore wherever you are, you so live as to seem present everywhere in Christendom, and will continue to live by the immortality of your fame and the noble monuments you will leave behind you.

By your correction of the New Testament accompanied by your notes you have thrown a marvellous light on Christ, and deserved well of all his zealous followers. I came by accident a few days ago upon the *Cato Minor*, which you have illustrated with notes. You would scarcely believe how much I was delighted with them, admiring such an agreeable and abundant harvest in so small a field. I beseech you to have an index of all your works written at the end of one or other of your books; for as I was not informed about this book, I am afraid there are others I do not know. We shall meet Jerome with open arms, and with every good wish, and shall be thankful to his worshipper and restorer.

I was very much pleased with Peter Falk of Switzerland,* whom we English have named the Great. He was indeed a most attentive patron, and at the same time a most pleasant companion to strangers. He had in his galley† a long-tailed monkey of marvellous cleverness, which by its gestures, its laughter, its noise, its leaps and gambols, was constantly raising a sardonic laugh. Being curious about novelties in arts and machinery, he sometimes carried a gun hung at his

* Petrum Falconem Eluetium. Peter Falk of Freiburg in Switzerland was employed by the Confederation in various embassies at Venice, Milan, Paris and Rome, where he was a persona grata with Pope Julius II. About the time of the above epistle he undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but died on his voyage, and was buried at Rhodes. Leu, *Helvetishes Lexicon*, sub voce *Falk*.

† in triremi.

girdle.* He made careful notes of the name and situation of any place he visited, and marked his travelling book with red lead. When talking with me of you, he boasted that he had received a letter from you. If you do ever write to him, please greet him for me.

I congratulate you, or rather myself and friends, most heartily on your being restored to us, and wish I had the opportunity of talking with you. I am longing to pay you a visit, and shall come to see you, if you stay till Michaelmas. Meantime, if you are disposed to come down here, as I should of all things most desire, no one will look more wistfully for your arrival. We shall then have a most delightful holiday. Whatever I have that can be either agreeable or useful to you, shall be at your service. Farewell.

[Cambridge, August, 1516].†

The above Epistle did not reach London or Rochester till Erasmus was out of reach. Coming to his hands after a long delay, it was answered by him on the 13th of January, 1517. Epistle 494.

Erasmus appears to have remained for the stipulated ten days, (pp. 320, 332 note),—probably from the 14th to the 24th of August,—with the Bishop of Rochester. While there, beside the letters which have been mentioned,—Epistles 438, 440, 441,—he found time, if I am not mistaken as to its date, to compose the long Epistle to Grunnius, which forms the subject of our next Chapter.

* gestabat subinde ad cingulum suspensam bombardam. I have not found elsewhere a description of any gun of this early date, suitable to be hung upon a man's girdle. Falk's 'bombard,' if it had been preserved, would be among the greatest curiosities in any collection of ancient arms.

† No date in *Epistolæ s. q. elegantes* or in *Opus Epistolarum*. Cantabrigia . . . Augusti, An. 1515. C.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Epistle to Grunnius, containing the story of Florence, a reluctant monk, with the reply to the same. August, 1516. Epistles 443, 444.

It may be conjectured, that it was on the occasion of Erasmus's suit to Pope Leo described in the preceding Chapter, and probably during his ten days' visit to Bishop Fisher, between the 14th and 24th of August, 1516, that he found time to dictate in his rapid way the correspondence with Lambertus Grunnius, Apostolic Secretary, which appears to have been first printed several years later in the twenty-fourth Book of the *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529. In the Epistle inscribed, Erasmus to Grunnius, the writer narrates at some length the story of a certain Florentius or Florence, who had in his boyish days been induced by his friends to embrace the monastic profession, for which his character was not suited. The details of the life of Florence, agreeing with the early history of Erasmus himself, as it is narrated in the *Compendium Vitæ* (vol. i. pp. 5-13), make it evident to the reader, that the author was telling his own story in such a way as left him free to modify or embellish without imputation of falsehood. But it does not appear to have been generally understood by his biographers, that the correspondent to whom the letter is addressed was fictitious, and that no Lambertus Grunnius, Scriba Apostolicus, ever existed except in imagination.* The epistle is without date, and contains nothing to show precisely when or where it was written. Neither do

* See Introduction to former volume, pp. lxi., lxii. Jortin appears to regard Grunnius as a real correspondent of Erasmus. Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, vol. i. p. 4; ii. p. 295. So Drummond, *Erasmus*, i. 253, and Durand de Laur, *Érasme*, i. 6. There is another epistle of Erasmus, dated at Freiburg, 5 March, 1531, addressed to Grunnius, where the assumed correspondent represents a class of controversial opponents belonging to the Reforming party. *Opera Erasmi* (Froben), ix. 1305; C. x. 1590. This epistle is also printed in the London edition of Epistles, xxxi. 51, where it is erroneously

we find, as far as I am aware, any distinct reference or allusion to it in any other writing of Erasmus; but a sentence in a letter of Ammonius written on or about the 18th of August, 1516, while Erasmus was staying at Rochester (Epistle 439), in which he mentions a fiction upon which Erasmus was engaged (see p. 322), may well refer to this epistle, which was probably intended to be sent by Ammonius to Rome, for the purpose,—if the occasion should arise,—of being submitted by the Bishop of Worcester, who was a personal friend of Ammonius, to the critical eye of Pope Leo, before whose tribunal the question of the dispensation sought by Erasmus was then pending. It appears by a later letter of Ammonius to Erasmus, dated 4 Dec. 1516 (Epistle 486), that the writer had by that time heard from the Bishop of Worcester, that Erasmus's case had been laid before the Pope, and had been most favourably received by him,* but we have no evidence to show whether this composition was used for the purpose which has been suggested. It has been already stated, that the Grunnius correspondence was not published by the Press until the year 1529, and no evidence is forthcoming to show distinctly its original date. If the account which is here suggested of the occasion of its composition be accepted, we may well imagine that Erasmus, when he had obtained his Dispensation, would be disinclined for the time to publish this story of his early difficulties, however well satisfied he might be with his work as a literary production. At a

inscribed *Lamberto Grunnio*, and the same address is repeated in the edition of Le Clerc. In the edition of Froben the address is *Grunnio* only. Here the name of Grunnius, like those of Vulturius and Eleutherius employed in the same controversy (x. 1573, 1581), is evidently a fanciful name, which might be rendered in English, Mr. Grunt. A passage in the dedication of the *Moria* (Epistle 212, p. 3), where Erasmus alludes to a composition mentioned by St. Jerome, and entitled the Testament of the pig, Grunnius Corocotta, points to the source from which Erasmus derived the name of Grunnius.

* This letter of Ammonius, as printed by Mr. Vischer, contains the following clause. Intellexi N. *ἀρχιερέα* mirifice in te propensum, et quid impetrari queat, imo quid impetratum sit, a Vigorniense accepi. Mr. Vischer adds the note, that in this correspondence the word *ἀρχιερεύς* denotes a Cardinal. It is more probable, that the word *ἀρχιερέα* is here used to denote the Pope; and it would probably be found that the letter N is a misreading for the Greek article *τὸν*, written in the contracted form then frequently used.

later period, when his Epistles were being published on a more extensive scale under the care of his friend, Beatus Rhenanus, he appears to have thought, that there was no longer any reason for withholding this work from appreciative readers.

Epistle 443. Opus Epistolarum, 1529, p. 982; Ep. xxiv. 5; C. 1821 (442).

Erasmus to Lambertus Grunnius, Apostolic Secretary.

Hitherto, most erudite Lambert, often as my interference has been solicited, I have been glad to keep clear of suits of this kind, as I could not bear to be burdensome to any of my friends. But in this instance a special sense of duty has induced me to undertake a novel advocacy, and to solicit one of my best friends on behalf of another friend. I therefore first of all beg this favour of you, that you will condescend to become acquainted with the whole course of the transaction, being confident that, if this request is granted, you will approve my interest in the matter, and will also gladly accord your own, not merely to our friendship, for which I am sure there is nothing you would not do, but to the cause itself. For the matter at stake is not goat's wool, as the saying is,* but the safety of a supremely gifted character, which will be buried alive and utterly lost, unless we come to the rescue. Would that the nature of the whole proceeding were as well known to you as it is to me! In that case, I am quite sure, that with three words I should gain your judgment in my client's favour. Nevertheless I will draw you such a genuine picture of the whole affair, that nothing, or at any rate little that is worth knowing, may escape your attention. For the person, whose cause I plead, has been so well known to me from boyhood, that I am

* *Lana caprina.* See Erasm *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. iii. Proverb. 53.

scarcely better known to myself; and as to most of the facts of the case, I have not merely heard them, but have seen them with my own eyes. It is so shameful a story, that I can scarcely recall the circumstances without tears, and it may be, such is the kindness of your nature, that your eyes will not be dry while you read them. Indeed it is part of our religion, not only to rejoice with those that rejoice, but to weep with those that weep.

I am sure, my excellent friend, that you know well and detest heartily the obstinate temper of a sort of Pharisees, who not only, according to the testimony of the Gospel, compass seas and lands, but find their way into every prince's court, into every rich man's house, into every school, into every drinking-party, to entice some proselyte into their net, and use artifices that can hardly be believed, to ensnare the simplicity of boys and girls. They know their age, how liable it is to injury and fraud, and are intent on dragging them into a kind of life, from which, once caught, they cannot extricate themselves, and which is therefore more miserable than servitude, inasmuch as a slave bought under the hammer may deserve so well of his master as to become a freedman.

For my own part I do not care to find fault with any one's plan of life; neither will I defend those, who, having heedlessly thrown themselves into the ditch, turn bad into worse by taking refuge, not in liberty, but in a license of sinning. There is however so great a variety in men's bodies and minds, that the same conditions do not suit everybody; and no more unhappy fate can befall persons of signal ability, than to be inveigled or forced into a kind of life, from which they cannot extricate themselves. For human happiness depends mainly upon this, that every one should apply himself to that for which he is naturally fitted. There are some people whose devotion to celibacy or monachism is no more likely to succeed than if you brought an ass into the Olympic

race, or *bovem ad ceroma*,* as the saying is. But I have said enough by way of preface. You shall now hear the story of this young man's misfortune, and of the detestable persistence of those kidnappers.

There are two brothers, Florence and his elder brother, Antony. When very young, they lost their mother; and their father dying soon after, left them a slender patrimony, which would however have been abundantly sufficient for the completion of their studies, if the rapacity of the kinsfolk who were present at his death had not diminished the amount. For of ready money, not a farthing was found. But what was left in landed property † or in bills, not so freely exposed to those harpies' claws, was in any case enough to pay the cost of a liberal education, if again a good deal had not been lost by the carelessness of the guardians. You know how few people there are, who are honestly vigilant in a matter in which they are not themselves interested. But in this case the guardians had set their hearts on educating their wards for a monastery, reckoning it an act of signal piety, if their living was thus secured. And being themselves this way disposed, they were encouraged,—especially one of them, a schoolmaster under whom the boys had in their early childhood learned the rudiments of Grammar,—by the advice of one Warden,‡ a supercilious man with a great reputation for piety. The schoolmaster was, according to common estimation, a pious and harmless man; that is to say, he had not lost his character by gambling or lewdness or drunkenness or other offences; but living for himself and very parsimonious, he was not remarkable for good sense, and had no regard for any learning beyond the little

* 'An ox to the ointment.' *Ceroma*, as Erasmus explains in his *Adages*, was the ointment with which athletes were rubbed. He seems to have learned the expression from St. Jerome. See the Adage, Oleum et operam perdidi. *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. iv. Proverb. 62.

† in rebus soli. ‡ Guardianus quidam.

he had himself acquired. When Florence, in his fourteenth year, wrote him a letter in a somewhat polished style, he roughly answered, that if he was going to send him such letters, he had better add a commentary; for his own part he had always been accustomed to write plainly and point by point,*—that was the expression he used. He seems, like a great many persons I know, to have been disposed to think, that he was offering a most acceptable sacrifice to God, if he induced any of his pupils to adopt a monastic life; and he is wont to boast of the number of young people, whom year by year he has succeeded in gaining for St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Augustine, St. Benedict or St. Bridget.

Accordingly, when the boys were ripe for a University,—for they were well grounded in Grammar and had learned a great part of the *Dialectic* of Petrus Hispanus,—still fearing they might imbibe from this learning something of a worldly spirit and refuse the yoke, he had them sent away to one of the houses of the so-called Collationary Brethren, who are building their nests all over the world, and earning a living by the education of boys.† These teachers, if they find in any boy a more generous and lively spirit, such as commonly distinguishes the happiest intellects, make it their main endeavour, by means of blows, threats, reproaches and various other devices, to break it and cast it down (they call this 'taming'), and fit it for monastic life. On this

* punctuatim. Erasmus's schoolmaster guardian was Peter Winckel. See Epistle I., which may be the very letter here described. Being aliquanto politius scriptum, it was probably written in Latin. See vol. i. p. 40.

† If these sentences apply, as has been assumed, to the so-called Brethren of the Common Life, Erasmus's opinion of them differs widely from that generally received. He had not seen them in their earliest, and probably best period. The term 'Fratres Collationarii,' is not, I think, found elsewhere. In the *Compendium Vitæ* we read of Erasmus being at school for three years "at the Brothers' House," and of the interest in his pupils shown by Rumbold, who taught there. See vol. i. pp. 8, 18.

account they are in high favour with the Dominicans and Franciscans, who say their Orders would soon come to an end, unless a seed-plot were grown for them in the houses of these Brethren. For it is out of their squads* that the Friars enlist their own recruits. I think myself, that they have among them persons who are not at all bad; but deficient, as they are in the best authors,† living in their own darkness and with certain rites and customs of their own, having little opportunity of comparing themselves with others, and compelled to spend a good part of the day in stated tasks of prayer and work, I do not see how they are in a position to educate boys in a liberal way; at any rate it is shown by experience, that there is no school that produces youths less elegantly taught or inferior in character.

Under these teachers our two brothers lost two years and more. In the case of the younger the time was certainly lost, as he was more advanced than his preceptors in the studies which they professed. Of one of them Florence declares, that he has not seen anywhere a monster more ignorant or more conceited. Such persons are often placed in charge of boys, not being chosen by the judgment of learned men, but by the discretion of a patriarch, who generally knows nothing of Letters. There was one, however, who always seemed to be specially pleased with Florence's character, and who, when he heard of his intended return to his country, endeavoured in private conversation to induce him to join their society, mentioning many attractions which are inviting to boys.‡ I wish he had succeeded; in that case Florence would either have stayed with them of his own accord out of love of religion, or if circumstances led to his departure, he might without hindrance have returned to his original freedom. For this

* ex illorum cortibus. † quum optimorum auctorum inopia laborent.

‡ This incident is mentioned in the *Compendium Vitæ Erasmi*, where the teacher is called Rumbold. See vol. i. p. 8.

class of men possesses one main advantage, as a vestige of primitive religion,—that they are not bound by indissoluble vows. Indeed if the judgment of truly pious and spiritual persons prevailed over the opinion of dullards, there would be in future no indissoluble vows, save those of Baptism, especially in the present condition of human malice, or shall we call it imbecility? When however this Brother followed up his advances with frequent exhortations, adding from time to time flattering speeches and presents and caresses, the boy made answer in no boyish fashion, that he had not yet knowledge enough either of the kind of life or of himself, but that when he was of riper age, he would consider the matter. The Brother, not being quite a fool or knave, gave up the pursuit; but I know some of that Society who have tried, not only by intimidation and blandishments, but even by appeals to Heaven which make one shudder, I had almost said by exorcisms and enchantments, to stupefy the minds of rich and well-born boys, not fourteen years of age, and induce them, without the knowledge of their parents, to devote themselves to the Brotherhood. If this is not kidnapping, what is?

Accordingly, when Antony and Florence had returned to their old home, their guardians, who had not dealt with their estate, scanty as it was, in the most scrupulous way, began to make arrangements for carrying out the monastic scheme, partly in order to be sooner relieved of their trust, and partly because the schoolmaster, as I have said before, thought that he should propitiate the Deity with a most acceptable sacrifice, if he slew two sheep upon his altar. This person was now the sole manager of the estate, one of the other guardians having caught the plague and died suddenly, leaving his accounts unsettled, and the other, a merchant, not taking much interest in the matter.

Florence, perceiving them to be acting as if they had the will of their wards in absolute bondage, took counsel with

his brother, who was his elder by nearly three years (he himself being scarcely more than fifteen), whether he was really disposed to consent to be bound by knots which he could not afterwards untie. Antony frankly admitted, that he was not attracted by any love of religion, but dragged on by fear of his guardians.

"What," said Florence, "can be more silly than your conduct, if from any foolish shame and fear of men, from whom at any rate you need not be afraid of blows, you throw yourself into a kind of life, the nature of which you do not know, and from which, when you have once entered it, you cannot withdraw?"

At this point Antony began to plead their means, which were both slender in themselves and diminished by their guardians' negligence. "There is nothing to fear," said Florence. "We will scrape together what is left, and when we have made up a little sum, we will go to the University. We shall not be without friends; many who have nothing at all are maintained by their own industry, and finally God will aid those whose intentions are honest."

This answer was so agreeable to Antony, that he pointed out himself many hopeful considerations which had not occurred to the younger boy. It was therefore resolved between them, that the monastic question should be put off to a later period, when after spending three or four years in the Schools, they might from their age and experience be better able to see what was best. This conclusion was accepted without hesitation by both brothers; but the elder was still tormented by a doubt, what answer was to be given to the guardians, who without ascertaining the wishes of their wards were beginning in good earnest to carry out their own plan. A form of answer was hit upon, which was approved by Antony; he only begged that the younger boy would be spokesman, and answer in the name of both, being himself more timid in speech, as he was less forward in

learning. Florence agreed to this demand, but strongly insisted on his brother's adherence to his resolution ; "for if," said he, "you desert me after the answer has been given, the whole catastrophe will fall on my head. You had better change your mind now, if you think you can be driven from your position either by blandishments or by harsh words. Take my word for it, the thing we are about is no laughing matter." Antony then pledged his word in the most solemn way, that he would abide by his own declaration.

When some days had passed, the guardian came, and after a long preface about his affection for his wards and his extraordinary zeal and vigilance on their behalf, began to congratulate them on his having found them a place among those who have a double title to the name of Canons. The boy Florence, answering according to their agreement for both, thanked the guardian for all the pains he had taken ; but said that his brother and he did not think it prudent for them, young and inexperienced as they were, to attach themselves to any scheme of life, not having as yet sufficient knowledge of themselves, or of the nature of the proposed undertaking ; they therefore thought it would be better, if after some years spent in study, this question were taken up at a more seasonable time.

The guardian, had he been a really pious man with a fair share of evangelical wisdom, might well have been pleased with so mature an answer from so young a person ; indeed, if he had seen his wards too much inclined out of youthful ardour in the direction he expected, he ought to have held them back, and refused to act immediately upon the faith of a passing impulse. His conduct was quite different. He fired up, as if he had received a blow, and though he generally appeared to be a person of mild character, on this occasion he had no control over his temper, and was scarcely restrained by shame from violence. With a supremely contemptuous air he called Florence a scapegrace, and said that

he *had not the spirit* * (you recognise the monkish expression); he renounced the guardianship, and refused to be answerable to those from whom he had bought their provisions, protesting that there was no balance remaining, and they must see to it themselves, where they could get their food.

These and many other reproaches, with which he belaboured the boy, made him drop some tears,—but not the purpose he had deliberately taken up. "We accept," said he, "the renunciation of the guardianship, and relieve you from your care of us." This was the conclusion of the interview.

The guardian, finding that he made no way by threats and wrangling, fetches in his brother, the merchant already mentioned, a singularly courteous and fairspoken gentleman. The interview takes place in his garden, where the boys are invited to sit down; cups are brought in, and after some friendly converse, the old proposal is introduced more carefully and in a different fashion. The guardians were all amiability. They told many fibs about the marvellous felicity of that state of life; they pointed to brilliant hopes of future grandeur; added entreaties, and what not? Under this influence the elder youth began to waver, having apparently forgotten his repeated oaths of constancy; while the younger nevertheless persevered in his resolution. To cut the matter short, the traitor betrayed his brother, and submitted to the yoke, quietly purloining whatever ready money there was, a proceeding that was no novelty on his part. His story had a fine ending. As he was inert in mind, so he was robust of body, attentive to business and in that respect sharp and cunning, thievish in money matters, a brave tippler and an arrant rake, in fine so unlike his brother, that you might suppose him a changeling. For indeed to him he was never anything but his evil genius; and, not

* appellavit nebulonem, negavit habere spiritum.

long after, he took the same part among his companions * as Iscariot among the Apostles. When however he saw his brother caught in the trap, he was touched by the stings of conscience, and lamented that he had enticed him into the net and brought him to destruction. It was the confession of Judas! Would that he had hanged himself like his prototype, before he had been guilty of so impious a crime!

Florence, like most of those who are born for literature, was unskilful and careless in ordinary business. Upon such subjects his simplicity was marvellous, whereas you may find some boys grown up in cunning, while still children in years. The vigour of his mind was shown only in study; and its efforts were all exerted in the direction towards which he was by nature impelled; having been a student from his early infancy. Of a delicate constitution, but not unfitted for intellectual pursuits, he had scarcely entered his sixteenth year. It should be added that he was then in feeble health, having been suffering for more than a year with a quartan fever, contracted from the sordid and illiberal fashion in which he had been brought up. Which way should a lad of this sort turn, betrayed and abandoned as he was,—without any knowledge of affairs, and not free from sickness? Was not force enough exerted to constrain the will of a child? He nevertheless persisted in the decision which he had deliberately adopted.

Meantime that stupid guardian, intent on carrying out his plan, brings upon the scene a variety of characters of diverse conditions and also of diverse sex,—monks, half-monks, cousins male and cousins female, young persons and old, known and unknown; among whom were some such natural fools, that, if they had not been distinguished by the dress of their holy profession, they might have roamed the streets as clowns with foolscaps and bells. There were others too,

* The circumstances alluded to in these words are not known.

whom I judge to have erred, rather from superstition than from any malicious intention; but what matters it to the dying man, whether he is slaughtered by folly or by malice? In these circumstances how many engines were brought to bear upon the resolution of a boy? One drew a charming picture of monastic tranquillity, picking out every favorable point,—a quartan fever might be praised in this way,—adding a liberal supply of lies, and suppressing all the contrary facts. Another in tragic vein magnified the perils of the world, as if monks were outside the world, as they sometimes draw pictures of themselves, sailing in a well-guarded ship, while every one else is tossed about in the waves, and on the point of perishing unless they throw out a spar or rope to save him. A third gave a lively description of the tortures of hell, as if there were no thoroughfare between a convent and the realms below. Another struck terror by legendary examples, of which they have a plentiful supply; while stories were related of miraculous visions, as silly as those told by old wives about ghosts and goblins.

Some plied the boy with tales of a different kind, about the monk with whom Christ discoursed for several hours every day, or about Catharine of Siena, who in her childhood was so familiar with Christ,* that they walked backwards and forwards in her chamber, and sometimes said their prayers together. They laid especial stress upon the communion of good works, as if they had themselves an excess of them, and did not sometimes stand, even more than the laity, in need of the divine mercy, or as if there were not in the whole body of Christ a participation of all that is done aright. Not to prolong my story, every kind of engine was brought to bear on the mind of a simple boy, abandoned by the treachery of a brother, and broken in health; the siege being pressed with as much care, zeal and watchfulness as if

* cum Christo sponso vel amasio potius.

there had been a wealthy city to be taken. So important did it seem to these more than Pharisees, to consign one poor youth, alive and breathing, to the grave.

There were some among them who were acting in the interest of their own Order, for which they are so much concerned, that they quarrel with one another most fiercely on that score, regarding our common profession of Christianity as scarcely of any account. The boy was clever, and well-read, with a faculty of speech beyond his years, and they hoped that his talents would confer no small distinction on their society. This was the meaning of their pious zeal.

There were many incidents, most learned Grunnius, which, to avoid tiring you, I purposely omit. Your knowledge of the world will enable you from what I have related to guess the rest. Florence meantime was between the Devil and the deep sea, as it is said in Proverbs;* and while he was looking round to see whether any deity would appear to offer some hope of escape, he happened to pay a visit at a college of Canons near the town where he then lived.† There he fell in with a former comrade some years older than himself,‡ named Cantelius, with whom he had been brought up as a child. This young man was of a shrewd turn of mind, with his own interest always in view, but at the same time of a haughty temper. He had been induced to enter a convent, not so much by religious feeling as by a regard for his appetite and a love of ease. He had not been successful as a student, being only skilful in singing, an art

* Hæret inter sacrum et saxum, ut est in Proverbiis. *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. i. Prov. 15

† The Convent of Stein, where Erasmus was professed, was in the vicinity of Gouda, but there is nothing now to mark the spot. See vol. i. p. 41.

‡ A few lines further on, Cantelius is, somewhat inconsistently, described as a foster-brother (collactaneus) of Florentius. Cornelius Werden, the prototype of Cantelius, appears to have been Erasmus's schoolfellow at Deventer, when Erasmus was already nine years old. Possibly he had been at an earlier time a fellow chorister at Utrecht. See vol. i. pp. 9, 43.

that he had practised from his earliest years. On his return from Italy, where he had chased Fortune in vain, he found his parents bewailing the straitness of their circumstances and the multitude of their children, and consequently took refuge in a cowl, for which there is this to be said, that it provides a fairly comfortable subsistence for many a creature that would otherwise starve.

In this interview Cantelius did not fail to observe how accomplished a scholar Florence had become. His next thought was for himself; and being of a Mercurial turn, he set to work with incredible ardour to persuade the other to share his profession, drawing an attractive picture of the monastic life, and exaggerating its sacred tranquillity, freedom and concord; representing it, in short, as a fellowship of Angels; and especially repeating and impressing on his friend, what an abundance there was of books and what leisure for study. He knew the bait with which the lad's mind might be caught. If you had heard him, you might have thought it was not a monastery he was describing, but the Muses' bower.*

Florence with all the sincerity of his character, loved Cantelius with a childish and passionate love, which was strengthened by their unexpected reunion; as boys of that age often conceive a violent affection for some of their schoolfellows. He did not yet know men's characters, but judged of others by himself, while Cantelius left no stone unturned, using every means to bewitch the boy's mind, but without producing any effect.

After his return from that visit, Florence had to meet a fresh attack from his other assailants, who had armed themselves with more powerful engines than ever. They now

* We may well believe, that the good library, which the little monastery of Stein appears to have possessed, was among the chief inducements which overcame whatever disinclination Erasmus may have had for a conventual life. See vol. i. pp. 9, 26.

insisted on the desperate state of his fortune, the displeasure of all his friends, and finally on the prospect before him of the most cruel sort of death,—starvation,—if he did not 'renounce the world.' Such is the language they use, applying this word of reproach to those whom Christ has with his own blood redeemed from the world, and claiming, as peculiar to monks, that which is the common privilege of all Christians. Having for some time been more worried than convinced by their arguments, he paid another visit to Cantelius, merely for the sake of having some talk with him. It was now that worthy's object, to which he directed his utmost efforts, to secure a companion, who would give him lessons in secret and without cost. Florence on the other hand was singularly disposed to form attachments, and prompt to comply with the wishes of any friend. The result was that, there being no end to those deafening arguments, and no gleam of hope appearing elsewhere, he betook himself to a convent,—not the one proposed by his guardian, but that in which he had happened to find a foster-brother.* The situation of the house was so damp and unhealthy, that it was scarcely fit for rearing bullocks, not to speak of a delicate constitution like his; but at that age he had not learned to take account either of food or climate or locality. And indeed he did not go to the convent with the intention of adopting the monastic life, but to escape for a while that deafening clamour, and in the hope that the mere lapse of time might bring better counsel.

Cantelius meanwhile was busy in his own interest, turning to a selfish account the good nature and simplicity of his comrade. For Florence would sometimes construe for him a whole play of Terence in a single night, so that in those stolen lessons they ran through the principal authors in a few months, a practice which involved no small danger to a

* collactaneum. See note, p. 350.

sickly constitution. But this was nothing to Cantelius, who chuckled over the opportunity that had befallen him, having no genuine love for anybody but himself.

During this period, as it was not desired that Florence should draw back from his position, there was no indulgence that was not allowed him. The boy was cheered by the pleasant companionship of the younger inmates of the convent; songs were sung; games were played; verses were capped; he was not compelled to fast, nor roused from his bed for the nightly services. No one found fault; no one scolded; all were kind and cheerful. In this way many months glided by unheeded. But when the day drew near for putting off the lay, and putting on the religious habit, Florence, coming to himself again, began to sing his old song, and sent for his guardians in order to claim his liberty.

Upon their arrival the old threats were harshly repeated; he was bid to look at the utterly desperate condition of his affairs, if he did not persevere in what he had so well begun; and Cantelius, who was interested in retaining his gratuitous instructor, took an earnest part in the discussion. I beseech you to tell me, whether this is not a case of mere violence practised on a boy, naturally simple, inexperienced and heedless. But I must not shrink from narrating the conclusion. In spite of his remonstrances, the sacred robe was thrust upon him, when they knew his mind had undergone no change.

This done, blandishments and indulgence were again employed to tempt his boyish humour; and again almost a whole year passed without serious thought. But by this time he had fairly found out that this sort of life was suited neither to his mind nor to his body. His mind had no pleasure but in study, and for study in that place there was neither honour nor use. For the rest he had no distaste for religion, but was not so much attracted by the services and

ceremonies which well nigh make up their whole life. Moreover those who are thrust into these societies, are mostly persons of sluggish intellect, half idiots at their birth, more concerned with their belly than with books ; and if there should appear among them an extraordinary genius with a natural capacity for learning, it is their business to keep it down and prevent it from finding any outlet. And it almost comes to this, that the stupidest and most obstinate man, provided he is hale and strong, is of most account in that herd. Only think for a moment, what a torture it is for a man of natural refinement to pass his whole life in such company ; from which he has no hope of release, unless by some chance he be put in charge of a college of nuns, a sort of slavery as miserable as can be. For besides the constant care of a flock of women, he will have to sit every day at prolonged meals, not without some risk of compromising his character ; and it is not uncommon for them to send back their Patriarch, broken by years and unfit for service, to his old stable ; where he feels all the more wretched for having lived for some time an easy life.

The lad's constitution was naturally so unsuited for fasting, that his health had often been affected by a meal being put off to a later hour than usual, when he had himself been unconscious of his weakness and thought of nothing of the kind, until warned by a sharp pain in the stomach and a failure in the action of the heart. This will perhaps appear ridiculous to some coarse animals, who would wax fat and kick, even if fed upon hay. But expert doctors are not unaware, that this is a peculiarity of a body specifically light, and of subtle spirits,* for which cases they prescribe food easy of digestion, taken frequently and in small quantity, whereas you may find others, who have only to fill their stomachs once, and they will go on without trouble as long as vultures.

* corporis admodum rari, subtiliumque spirituum.

The same constitutions are observed by physicians to be intolerant of cold, winds and fogs, and to be affected by climate even sooner than by food. The young man was subject to another special inconvenience, which from his tender years to the present day he has never been able to shake off. He cannot go to sleep except late in the evening ; and if once roused, does not sleep again for several hours. How often does he regret that he is not permitted to enjoy those golden hours in familiar talk, and that the most delightful part of the day is lost in sleep ! How often has he tried to drive Nature out by force, and tried in vain ! Again, it is not without injury to his health that he can keep a night-watch without a meal. When young he had so great a dislike for fish, that the mere smell of it gave him a feverish headache. With such a character and such a constitution, what was he to do in a monastery, especially in a situation like that ?

Now, as these facts were not unknown to those reverend fathers, I would ask you whether, if they had had a grain of charity in them, they ought not to have come forward themselves to help an ignorant or heedless boy, and to have warned him in some such terms as these. " Son, it is foolish to strive in vain. Our institution is not suited for you, nor you for it. While that course is still open, choose another kind of life. Christ dwells everywhere, not only here. Religion may be pursued in any dress, if the heart be not wanting. We will help you to return to freedom with the sanction of your guardians and friends. In this way you will neither be a burden to us, nor we a curse to you." This had been an utterance worthy of truly religious men. But no one gave a note of warning ; on the contrary they employed every device to prevent that luckless fish from escaping out of the net. One repeated that it was Satan's fashion, in such a crisis to use every wile to trip up the young soldier of Christ ; he had only to sustain the conflict

bravely, and his future path would be easy and even pleasant ; the adviser had himself gone through the same experience, and now seemed to be living in paradise. Another suggested a fresh scruple by pointing out the risk of St. Augustine being offended and sending some great calamity in return for the despite done him by abandoning his habit, and called to mind several terrible examples of this danger, how one had caught an incurable disease, another had been struck dead by lightning, another killed by the bite of a viper. It was added, that putting on the habit was a tacit profession, and to turn back now was scarcely a lighter offence in the sight of God or less disgraceful in that of man, than if he deserted the Order after he was openly professed. There was no kind of weapon they did not use against the lad, but none distressed him more than the fear of loss of character. "It is too late," said they, "to turn tail now ; you have put your hand to the plough, and it is wicked to look back. If you lay aside the habit which you have received before a number of witnesses, you will be for ever the talk of mankind." In this argument they gave a dismal importance to the word Apostate. "Whither shall an Apostate go?" said they ; "you can never live in the sight of good men. You will be execrated by monks, and hated by laymen !"

The boy's character had in it a sort of virgin shyness, so that he shrank less from death than from disgrace. On the other hand he was urged on by his guardians and friends, some of whom had by their own dishonesty diminished his fortune. To sum up the matter, their pertinacity was successful. The lad, in spite of the abhorrence which he felt, and the reluctance which he expressed, was forced to accept the halter, just as prisoners taken in battle hold out their hands to be tied, or slaves overcome by continued tortures do, not what they will, but what their masters choose.

However Florence had subdued his mind, no man can

mould his own body. He did for a time what prisoners often do ; he consoled himself, as far as he was allowed, with study. For even this had to be done by stealth, whereas drunkenness was openly permitted. It was therefore with literature that he beguiled the weariness of his captivity, until an unexpected event, like a stage god, revealed some hope of deliverance. He was summoned by a wealthy Bishop to become one of his household ; and from thence he advanced a step further and proceeded to a famous University. But for this course of events,* so transcendent a character might have rotted in idleness, luxury and conviviality. Not that the young man brings any charge against the Society in which he lived, but that his own nature was not in sympathy with it ; for what is life to one man may be death to another. And such is his bashfulness and modesty, that he is never heard to say anything unfriendly of his old associates ; but more is sometimes expressed by silence and reserve than by a multitude of words.

It must be understood however, that none of these steps were taken except by the permission, or rather the command, of the Bishop of the diocese, and also by permission of the Provost of his Order, both Domestic and General, and finally with the acquiescence of the whole Society. And although his conscience was free, and he knew that he was not bound by an enforced vow, yet he so far yielded for the time, partly to his own natural bashfulness, which was so excessive as to be often a misfortune to him, and partly to the invincible scruples of unenlightened and superstitious persons, that he abstained from changing his dress, although invited to do so by his Bishop.

It happened some time after, that his love of study led him to travel to a distant country. When there,† he wore a linen

* Quod ni accidisset. I interpret this to apply to the double removal, first, from the convent, and secondly, from the Bishop's household,

† Erasmus here refers to his adventure at Bologna. See vol. i. pp. 29, 423

scarf, after the French fashion, over his robe, assuming that it was not unusual there. But owing to this costume, he was twice in danger of losing his life, because the surgeons of that place who attend cases of plague, wear a white linen cloth on the left shoulder hanging down before and behind, in order that they may be easily distinguished and avoided by persons meeting or following them; and indeed the surgeons themselves would be stoned by the passers-by, if they did not find their way by the least frequented lanes, the people of that country having such a dread of death, that they are up in arms even at the smell of incense, because it is used at funerals. On one occasion, when Florence was going to call on a learned friend, he fell in with two profligates,—or else bravoes,*—who came towards him with their swords drawn, and threatened to kill him, if a lady who was fortunately passing, had not told them it was not a surgeon's, but a clergyman's dress. Even then they did not cease to growl, nor sheath their swords, until he knocked at the door of the house, which was close by, and obtained admission.

Another day he was visiting some comrades from his own country, when all of a sudden he found himself in the midst of a crowd armed with sticks and stones, shouting furiously to each other, "Kill the dog, kill the dog." While this was going on, a priest came up, who did nothing but smile at him and say inaudibly and in Latin, "Asses, asses." While the crowd was still about him, a young man of elegant appearance in a purple cloak, came out of the palace; and Florence fled to his side as to a sanctuary. For he was quite ignorant of the language of the people, and was still wondering what they meant, when the young man addressed him. "If," said he, "you do not take off that linen affair, you will certainly be stoned some day. Take warning by what I tell you." Accordingly, without altogether disusing the scarf, he hid it under his robe.

* lenones aut certe satellites.

Good Heavens, what a disturbance has arisen out of a matter of no consequence at all! This exclamation will shock some foolish people, who think the whole sum and substance of religion consists in the dress. I admit that this should not be lightly cast aside. And yet the Carthusians often change theirs for that of a merchant in order to travel more safely to synod; and our Canons, either for the sake of study or on occasion of a journey, change or hide their distinctive garment without special permission, and without incurring any censure. For there is not the same scrupulosity about this linen vestment as about others; for the so-called Canons formerly were not monks, and now they are an intermediate class; monks where it is an advantage to be so, not monks where it is not. But it is a horrible crime for a Dominican or Franciscan friar to throw aside his habit. For a Dominican cloak brings safety and prosperity to a rich man's whole household; and if it is worn by boys for some years in fulfilment of a mother's vow, it guards them from diseases and accidents! And the Franciscan shirt, put on a man, even after he is dead, saves him from hell!

The Pontifical Decretal is not launched against those who lay aside their dress for creditable reasons, but against those who do so in order to join more freely with lay persons in practices which are common in the world. For the linen robe does not specially belong to monks, but to bishops, and perhaps formerly to the clergy generally. And Augustine in his own Rule does not prescribe any form of dress, and indeed rather condemns a distinct costume,—while he advises that the habit of the clergy should not be such as to attract attention, and that they should study to please, not by their clothes but by their character,—although it is plain that the rule was written, not for men but for women, but I am now dealing with those who take it to have been written for men. And finally this costume is

that worn by the Roman Pontiff, when most pontifically arrayed.

All this was not unknown to Florence; but still in order to fulfil all righteousness, he took the advice of friends, and obtained without difficulty from the Pope a permission to wear any symbol of his calling upon any part of his body at his own discretion.

When he was recalled to the patrons that he had in another country,*—persons not of the lowest degree either in learning or condition,—he resumed the French dress, which with the exception of the linen scarf† does not differ from that of a secular priest; for by this ignominious adjective the lawful ministers of the Church instituted by the Apostles and by Christ are now distinguished. This he did not do without the advice of persons of consideration. But when he went into the streets in his old costume, he was warned by his dearest friends, that it was quite inadmissible in that country, and that he must put the linen affair out of sight. You will say he might have adopted the entire dress of the Canons of that nation. But that is as tiresome as anything can be; for while with your right hand you have to hold up a flowing tail, there is a cowl of the amplest dimensions to be kept in place with your left.‡ For this fashion is thought there uncommonly fine, being quite after the pattern of Cardinals. Then again, he was often compelled by business to move from one country to another, and so to become a polypus in dress; for the costume which is respectable in one place, appears monstrous in another. And finally he was a guest in other people's houses, and had to pass some time every day in company with men of rank, who are apt to be critical in matters of this kind. It was at

* England, see Chapter xviii.

† linteolum pensile.

‡ Compare Hollar's engraving of the costume of an English Augustinian canon, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. i. (edition of 1661).

last thought best by his sincerest friends, that as his own conscience was free, every scruple having been entirely removed by the Pope's authority, he should be restored to his liberty, for fear of providing busybodies with a worse scandal by his being obliged so often to give the dress up, and assume it again. I will add this, that the kind of life, into which the young man has been thrust, is so free as to be not far removed from that of secular persons; I am not speaking of a stolen freedom, but of that conceded by those who have had authority in the matter.

I will not discuss the question of monastic vows, the importance of which is much exaggerated by some; whereas this kind of obligation,—not to say bondage,—is not found either in the New Testament or in the Old. And whereas the Sabbath, according to the authority of Christ, is made for man and not man for the Sabbath, much more ought such human constitutions to give way, whenever they impede the welfare of man, especially that of his soul, whereas our Lord speaks of that of the body, the talk bring about hunger and the man that was healed on the Sabbath day. But these people are your real Pharisees, who if an ox or an ass be fallen into a pit, drag him out in violation of God's Sabbath, while they allow a man to perish altogether for the sake of a Sabbath of their own.

I will not allege here, how great is the number of monasteries in which there is so utter an absence of pious discipline, that the stews are modest and well-conducted in comparison; nor again, how many there are in which there is no religion at all except ceremonies and outward show. The latter are almost worse than the former; for while they lack the spirit of Christ, it is incredible what a conceit they have of themselves by reason of those Pharisaical observances, placing the whole of religion in externals, and beating boys to death every day on account of those ceremonies; although for their own part they go through them with remarkable

weariness, and would not do so at all, if they did not think that the sight attracted the admiration of the people. And finally how remarkably few convents there are, in which the religious rule of life is heartily observed; and even in these, if you open Silenus,* if you look into the matter more closely, and test it by the touchstone of true piety, it is grievous to think how very few persons you will find to be sincere. The crafty devices of Satan, the intricacies of the heart of man, the subtlety with which he imposes on himself and others, these are things by which the oldest and most experienced are frequently deceived, and they are the things which they require a boy to see through in a few months! And this is what is called Profession.

But suppose you find a convent, which satisfies all requirements. What is a man to do when a change take place in its personal constitution, when a worthy patriarch is succeeded by one that is stupid, drunken and tyrannical, when good comrades give place to bad. Let him change, say they, his House or his Order. But in such circumstances how grudgingly does a seceding member obtain leave to depart; and still more grudgingly will he be received by others, who suspect that there is something horrible in the background, from the fact that he has withdrawn from his old society. And if, when received, he gives the slightest offence, there is the ready question, Why do you not go back to your old home? Besides, what an anxious discussion is raised, which is the stricter and which the laxer Order, as each wishes his own Order to be thought the strictest. So that after all, this vaunted facility of changing House and Order comes to

* Si Silenum aperias. I do not find this phrase in the Adages of Erasmus. The interpretation is to be found in the following passage from the *Banquet* of Plato, where Alcibiades says of Socrates: "I call him just like those Sileni, that you see sitting in the sculptors' shops with their pipes or flutes in their hands, and if you take them in two and open them, are found to contain images of gods." Plato, *Convivium*, sect. xxxii.

this, that the poor fellow undergoes a fresh risk of falling into a more cruel bondage.

Again, whereas the young members are for the most part enticed by fraud, and when captured are taught, not a spiritual, but a Pharisaical religion, and are brought under the bondage of men, a vast number become discontented with their profession. Consequently those in authority, being afraid of the exposure of their orgies, have recourse to floggings, to curses, to the secular arm, to walls, to gratings, to prisons, and even to death, to keep their members from leaving them. I pledge my word, that Matthew, Cardinal of Sion, at a great dinner in the hearing of a number of people mentioned by name the place, the persons and the monastery in which a society of Dominicans buried alive a young man, who had been induced to join them by stealth, and whose release was demanded with threats by his father, a person of knightly rank. There was another case in Poland, in which a nobleman who had fallen asleep in a church, probably after a full supper, saw two Franciscans buried alive after the midnight service. The Papal authority upon this point,* as to which it has perhaps granted them a special privilege, is regarded with some respect; but when the same authority relieves any one from the religious habit, the Bull is torn up, and the person who has procured it is cast into prison. And whereas, after all this, they boast of Benedict, Basil, Jerome, Augustine, Dominic, Francis, Bruno, as the founders of their order, let them examine their lives, and see whether anything of the kind was ever instituted or done by them. They will find a very different policy. The entire purpose of these holy men was carried out by example, by wholesome teaching, by friendly counsel, by brotherly remonstrance. He that was not reformed by these means was expelled from the society,

* That is, I suppose, as to the coercive authority exercised within the Order.

even if he did not leave it of his own accord; so far were they from keeping any one who wished to go.

I say nothing of so many human constitutions, so many forms of dress, so many prayers and ceremonies, among which that which is of the least importance, I mean dress, is made of the greatest. The man who in his religious habit indulges in daily drunkenness, who is a slave to his palate and his belly, who is too familiar with women both secretly and openly (not to speak of anything less decent still), who squanders in luxury the money of the Church, who devotes his time to sorceries and other wicked arts,—such a man is a good monk and is promoted to an Abbacy, while he, who for any reason lays aside his dress, is execrated as an apostate. This name was in former times deservedly held in abomination, because it was used to denote those who fell away from the profession of Christ to Judaism or paganism. But if you give it a wider scope, whoever is given up to the pleasures, pomps, riches and other lusts of the world, which he has abjured in baptism, is an apostate, and no better but rather more guilty, however much the odiousness of the offence is lightened by its frequency. And in the same way monks who live a godless life, as they are everywhere doing, are doubly apostates, because they have fallen away, first, from that holy profession in which they were enlisted as soldiers of Christ, and then from the manner of life which they have since professed. These are the persons against whom the odious name of apostate might well be launched, were they enwrapped in ten cowls.

Under conditions such as these, my Lambert, what a wickedness it is to drive youthful simplicity into the toils either by force or by strategem. If the Religious Orders are plainly corrupt, as most of them are, what else do they do but drag a boy to perdition. If they are neither hot nor cold, in what a wretched bondage do they entangle him! Even if they are recommended by an appearance of probity,

when we consider how great a variety there is in men's minds and constitutions, how cleverly people impose upon each other, how great is the simplicity of boyhood, and that the knot, as they will have it, is indissoluble, it is evident into what peril both of mind and body young men are thrown. It is argued that the age of puberty brings with it a power to discriminate between good and evil. But this stage is not reached in the same year by all constitutions, still less by all minds. Puberty, in the natural course of things, may make a man fit for marriage, but not so much for a monastic life. This has been tried by some persons of not less than thirty years of age with considerable experience of the world, who have drawn back before profession, asserting that they had no conception of what it was. In former times persons of thirty were hardly admitted into the priesthood ; and yet boys as soon as they have a few hairs on their chin are fit at once to become monks ! Meantime the inexperienced are taken in by an abuse of terms, such as 'the world,' as if monks were not of the world ; 'obedience,' whereas the Scripture bids us obey God rather than man ; 'an indissoluble vow,' when they have not yet been able to find the difference between a dissoluble and an indissoluble vow, except that Scotus has discovered that a monk's vow cannot be set aside, because it is made through man to God ; for that which is made to God alone is easily set aside.

And here we may ask, considering that their whole *status* rests upon the authority of Popes, how comes it that they treat that authority with gross contempt, whenever they choose ? The Pope releases many persons from monachism, though he will not do so without good reason. But if he has power to do what he does, why in this particular case do they set his authority at naught ? If they deny his power to do what he does, do they not bring him in guilty of a frightful crime ? So that whenever it is for their own

convenience, the Pope is the Vicar of Christ and cannot do wrong ; whenever they do not agree with him, what he does, goes for nothing.

It is not, however, my present intention to do battle with the Monastic Orders. We will suppose that this or that calling in life is expedient or even necessary for this person or that, and that a lifelong engagement may be allowed. But the more holy and arduous the profession is, so much the more circumspectly, deliberately and late in life should it be undertaken, early enough in my opinion, if it be done before the fortieth year. Other engagements are not valid unless it be plain that the person who made them was of sound mind, in his sober senses and free from terror or overwhelming anxiety. And is it to hold good in this instance, where a boy, by enticements, by threats, by misrepresentations, by alarms, has in spite of his own protest been forced into the halter ? Is this a case of the effect of fear upon a man of robust character ? It is much rather an instance of the effect of deception and terror upon a simple and inexperienced stripling. We may add that in many persons there is a natural simplicity, not only arising from age but from character. But in this matter no distinction is admitted ; if puberty is reached, the vow holds fast, and so fast that by virtue of it the bride is abandoned before she is known. Can such be our laws ?

Therefore, considering that Florence has been thrust into his present condition by so many machinations in spite of continued reluctance and protests, and has done nothing but wear the dress, having kept his conscience free, I hold him to be no more bound by any vow, than if he had sworn an immoral oath to a band of pirates, who were making an attempt on his life. And I do not doubt that the Pope's goodness will be no less indignant against those man-stealers than favourable to the cause of our man.

You will say, the Pope may restore him to his freedom so

far as human jurisdiction is concerned, his conscience being free by its own judgment, but he cannot keep men's tongues from wagging. And yet, when Christ, the truly supreme Pontiff of the Church, and his not degenerate disciple, Paul, teach us that no one is to be judged, especially in such things as do not constitute piety or impiety, surely the Pope's authority ought to have so much influence as to turn suspicion into confidence, where to suspect evil is a fault. But what is to become of human affairs, if we are always to give way to the senseless opinions and scurrilous aspersions of such people! Paul would have us show indulgence to infirmity or to invincible conviction; but that only for a time. If we constantly give way to foolish and malicious judgments, what else is it but to sap the vigour of Christian piety? Christ so far gave way to Cæsar as to pay the tribute money, so far to the Jews as to abstain from meats forbidden by the Law, but in healing the woman who was 'bowed together,' in giving sight to the blind, in restoring the maimed limb, in plucking the ears of corn,* he disregarded them openly, and indeed purposely provoked a scandal among the Scribes and Pharisees. And if St. Paul had not done the same, where would Christianity be now?

But what objection do these stupid people make against Florence? He has put off the linen robe. How do they know whether he still wears it underneath? And if he has put it off, what means have they of knowing for what reasons he did so, or by what authority it was done? If they do not know, why do they judge? And if they know that it was done by the Pope's authority, why are they not afraid of condemning his judgment; which in other matters they desire to maintain inviolate? Where in this case is that marvellous and so much vaunted Obedience, when they do not listen to Christ, and tear to pieces his

* Matt. xii. 1-14; Luke vi. 1-11, xiii. 10-17; John v. 10-18.

Vicar, the Head of the Church? Where is that simplicity, which they display with their faces bowed to the ground? Where is that spirit that is dead to the world? Not to speak of these, where is their humanity, where is their common sense? When so many sins, not to be here related, may be objected against them, in which they are daily all but publicly detected, for I will not stir up *τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἀκίνητα*,* they still go on for ever objecting to a change of dress as an inexpiable crime!

But what can be more inhuman, than to cast in a man's teeth a calamity into which he has fallen by accident or by the malice of others? And what greater calamity could befal a youth of promise, than to be thrust into such a life? But if he is lost to humanity, who treats mere misfortune as a crime, what is to be said of a man who reproaches another for an evil which he has himself inflicted upon him? It is as if a clumsy surgeon called his patient a purblind idiot, whose eyesight he had himself destroyed; or as if a pirate reviled a man as a slave, whom he had himself reduced to servitude. For it is not the man who has fallen into a pit that ought to be ashamed, but those who cast him into it. Florence has put off the robe, but it is you that forced him to put it on. Who ever found fault with a captive for escaping from pirates? Not even the pirates themselves, I should imagine! All the rest of the world wish him joy. And any person who violently deprives another of his liberty, is to that man a pirate.

To conclude, my dear friend, if you are satisfied with my proof of Florence's case, I implore you earnestly to get his business completed with the utmost despatch, and as much as possible in accordance with my views. To put you at ease about the costs, you may hold me answerable.

In what looks like a blank space at the bottom of this

* The things not to be spoken or stirred.

etter, I have set down some particulars which may perhaps e required for drawing up the bull. They are written in he cipher I sent you with my last letter, but will not be egible unless you hold the paper to the fire. I expect an nswer by the courier, who brings this, and who is to stay at Rome for a fortnight, or not much less. Farewell.

It need not be said that, in the view here taken of this document, he details at the end of the Epistle are to be regarded as ingenious mplifications introduced to give reality to the imaginary suit before he Papal Court. The particulars alluded to in the supposed reply of Grunnius are intended to answer the same purpose. As Epistle 443 s an elaborate statement of the case of a suitor claiming release rom a mistaken vow, so Epistle 444 is the ideal answer of a Papal Secretary to the pleadings of a learned and eloquent advocate.

Epistle 444. Opus Epistolarum, 992; Ep. xxiv. 6; C. 1833 (443).

Lambertus Grunnius to Erasmus.

Dearest Erasmus, I have never undertaken any business more willingly than that which you have entrusted to me, and have scarcely ever concluded any with more satisfaction. My interest in the matter is not due so much to your friendship, to which I of course pay the utmost regard, as to the undeserved misfortunes of Florence. I read your letter through from beginning to end to the Pope, in the presence of several Cardinals and other eminent persons. The Holy Father was singularly delighted with your style; and you will hardly believe how indignant he was against those veritable man-stealers. For the more favour he has for true religion, so much more heartily does he detest those persons who fill the world with either miserable or bad

monks, not without serious damage to the Christian profession. It is spontaneous piety, he says, that Christ loves, not prisons full of slaves !

He has ordered the bull to be prepared forthwith, and that without charge. Nevertheless ī have given the clerks and notaries three ducats, to obtain it more quickly. You know what a voracious pack it is ; whether you like it or not, they will not be satisfied without a few mouthfuls.

The courier, by whom you wrote, went off to Naples, saying he would return this way. What has happened I do not know, but he has not come back. Meantime the bearer, who is, if I am not mistaken, a safer man than the other, has offered himself at the right moment, and will deliver you the bull, with the exemplification and the Pope's signature. I have arranged with him for half a ducat, and you are not to give more.

Farewell, and greet Florence lovingly in my name. He is now my Florence as well as yours. Given at Rome.

If the account of the composition of the correspondence with Grunnius suggested at the beginning of this Chapter be accepted as probable, we may suppose that the draft was consigned to the hands of Ammonius, in order that he might send a fair transcript of it to Rome. It is useless, in the utter absence of any grounds of probability, to conjecture what may have been its further history. The draft at any rate would naturally be returned to Erasmus, who would probably place it in one of his most private depositaries ; where we may suppose it to have rested, until it was taken out by its author as suggested in pp. 338, 339.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Erasmus at Calais, and for about a month at Antwerp. Epistles to Reuchlin, Wolsey, Nesen, Busleiden and More. Composition of the Utopia. *Last days of August to the beginning of October*, 1516. *Epistles* 445 *to* 461.

The Apologia of Erasmus addressed to Bullock (Epistle 441), and the fictitious correspondence with Grunnius (Epistles 443, 444), if rightly ascribed to this period, are the latest epistles that we have of Erasmus written in England.* But before leaving this country he wrote a letter to Sebastian Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, which was delivered by More (p. 381), but has not been preserved. At the end of his visit to Rochester, which appears to have been limited to the promised term of ten days, he took leave of the Bishop on or about the 24th of August, and continued his journey to the Continent.

The published correspondence of Erasmus, belonging to the period at which we are now arrived, includes two rambling letters addressed to him by William Nesen of Nastätten, the corrector of Froben's press (see p. 197), which are preserved in the Deventer Manuscript. The first of these, Epistle 445. written from Basel without date of day, may be probably ascribed to the time when Erasmus was in England, or had very lately left this country. It contains the following passage, which has a certain bibliographical interest. The short preface to the new edition of the *Copia*, addressed to Nesen, is Epistle 451 in our numeration, and a further mention of the matter is found in Epistle 455. See pp. 383, 390.

* Erasmus made one more visit to England for a few days in April, 1517, but we have no letter written by him at that time.

EPISTLE 445. Deventer MS.; C. 1589 (108).

William Nesen to Erasmus.

* * * * *

I can hardly tell you, how much I am delighted with your proposal to inscribe to me your Commentaries on Copiousness. It is an act, which will confer immortality on my memory; not that my simplicity has deserved any such memorial, but that I shall be said to have had Erasmus among my friends. I will take the utmost pains, that the *Copia* may be published as soon as possible, and in Froben's neatest type. Your *Folly*, wiser than any divine, is almost finished. Beatus Rhenanus has kept this work sometime on the anvil, with his *Gryllus* (translated by him into Latin), which he wants to add to it. Schürer has printed a new edition of the *Enchiridion*. * * *

Froben begs, that if you have anything either newly composed or corrected, you will send it to him; he will show his gratitude both by the care he will give to the work, and also by a money payment.

Basel, [August] 1516.†

Erasmus probably left Rochester before the last week of August,—his host, who had insisted on his staying the promised ten days, being rather inclined to cross the Channel with him, and continue his own journey to Stuttgard, in order to make the acquaintance of Reuchlin. Epistle 446. He had a rough passage from Dover to Calais, and after his arrival at the latter place, wrote letters to Bishop Fisher and to More, which have not been preserved, but are acknowledged in Epistles 472, 473. He also wrote to Reuchlin the following letter dated from Calais on the 27th of August, which is not in any of the collections of Erasmus's Epistles, but is found in the book entitled

† Basilea, Anno 1516. C

Illustrium virorum Epistolæ ad Ioannem Reuchlin,* which was printed by Thomas Anshelm at Hagenau in May, 1519.

EPISTLE 446. Illust. vir. Epist. ad Reuchlin, fol. s. 4b; Geiger, Reuchlins Briefwechsel, p. 251.

Erasmus to Reuchlin.

I cannot find words to express, in what affection and veneration your name is held by that great chieftain of literature and piety, the Bishop of Rochester, insomuch that, whereas Erasmus has been hitherto in high esteem, he is now almost despised in comparison with Reuchlin. This is so far from being an occasion of jealousy, that I am rather disposed to spur on, as they say, the willing horse. I never have a letter from him (often as he writes) without some honorable mention of you. He had made up his mind to put off his episcopal garb, I mean the linen vest, which the bishops always wear in England (except when they are out hunting), and to cross the sea, mainly in order that he might have an opportunity of talking with you. And on this account, as we were hurrying to the ship, he detained us for ten days, on purpose that we might make the passage together. Some later incident made him change his plan, but if he has put off its accomplishment, he has not changed his purpose. On our parting, he anxiously inquired, what he could do that would gratify you. I answered that your fortune was such, that you had no great need of money, but that if he sent you a ring or a robe or some present of that kind, which you might accept as a keepsake,† you would be much pleased. He answered, that he did not mind the cost, provided you were gratified. I applauded his resolution, and suspect that he will soon pay you a visit. Mean-

* In the letters of Reuchlin his surname is not declined as a Latin noun.

† quod ceu tui (*qu.* sui) monumentum posset (*qu.* posses) complecti.

time write to me what you would like sent; he will spare no expense. I observed, that he took a great fancy to those pens from the Nile, of which you gave me three; therefore, if you have any, you could not send him a more acceptable present.

Do not fail to write frequently to him, and also to Colet. Both take a great interest in you; and without regard to any material advantage, their own merits and their friendly feeling deserve some return of affection. At present they have both of them great influence in their country. Colet is on intimate terms with the King, and is admitted to a private audience whenever he wishes it.

Pope Leo promptly answered my Epistle, which you have seen as printed, and both promptly and affectionately added another brief, whereby he spontaneously commended me to the King of England, and expressly added that he did so of his own accord without any request from me or any one else. The Cardinals have both answered, but their letters were sent to Richard Pace,* a learned man who is now ambassador in Switzerland. Moreover the Pope's briefs were not delivered to me until I returned to England, whereas, if they had arrived in time, I might perhaps have dedicated Jerome to Leo.

I revisited England to greet my old patrons and friends, and found them much more loving than I had left them. The Archbishop was always most kind, but now his affection is so increased that his former love seems small. He put every thing he had at my disposal; money I refused; when I was leaving, he gave me a horse, and also a most elegant gilded cup with cover, promising that he would deposit with the Bankers whatever sum I might order.

The New Testament has earned me many friends everywhere, although there were some who strongly objected,

* Ricardum Pacorum, *read* Pacæum.

especially at first, but those only when I was away, and generally persons, who did not read my work, and would not have understood it, if they had.

Pray write to me often; whatever you send to Antwerp addressed to Peter Gillis, the Public Secretary, will be safely delivered to me. Farewell, Glory of our Germany.

If you send your young friend Philip to the Bishop of Rochester with a letter of recommendation from you, believe me, he will be most kindly treated, and advanced to an ample fortune. There is no place where he will enjoy more leisure for the best studies. Perhaps he is thirsting for Italy, but in these times England has an Italy to offer, and unless I am much mistaken, something better than Italy. Farewell again.

Calais, 27 August, [1516].*

The Philip who had been mentioned to Erasmus by Reuchlin was probably Philip Melancthon, a kinsman of Reuchlin, who was afterwards (1518), at the age of twenty-one, upon his recommendation, appointed Professor of Greek at Wittenberg. Erasmus probably thought, that Fisher would find this precocious scholar useful at Cambridge.

Epistle 447, addressed by Erasmus to Wolsey, is dated in *Farrago* from London, and the year-date, 1515, is added in *Opus Epistolarum*. But its contents indicate, that it was written when Erasmus had already completed his visit to England in 1516, and had had, on the day of writing, an interview with lord Mountjoy. That nobleman was still Governor of the city of Tournay (see p. 181), but it is probable that he came occasionally to Calais to look after his charge of the castle of Hammes. See vol. i. p. 370. It may have been upon some such occasion, that he had an interview with Erasmus, after the arrival of the latter at Calais; and it may be observed, that in Mountjoy's letter to Erasmus, written from Tournay shortly after, Epistle 478, there is no allusion to his correspondent having been at the latter place. It would seem from what Mountjoy told Erasmus (see Epistle 447), that he had taken some opportunity of urging the claims of his

* Calecii. vi. Kal. Septembres. *Illust. v. Ep. ad R.*

former preceptor upon the Minister, whose influence had now become dominant.

EPISTLE 447. Farrago 183; Ep. vii. 14; C. 164 (187).

Erasmus to Thomas, Cardinal of York.

Most reverend Father, although I was not unaware before of your Highness's * favour towards me, I have learnt it more fully to-day by speech with my lord Mountjoy. I intended to thank you in person, but the wind and the books I left behind, have long been calling me back hither.† Moreover I knew in what a sea of affairs your Eminence ‡ is tossed and exercised. What remains of this business shall be settled by letter. When you have decided what you deem enough for my leisure, it will be for me to endeavour to take such leave of my Prince as is due to so excellent a sovereign, to whom I am under great obligations. Whatever be the result, I shall always be indebted for the King's indulgence and your Highness's warm interest in my behalf. May the Almighty long protect you both.

[Calais, August, 1516].§

After a short rest at Calais Erasmus proceeded to Antwerp, where he had left his books and baggage with his friend Peter Gillis, at whose house he again became a guest, until he removed some three weeks later to Brussels.

A long epistle from Wolfgang Faber (afterwards styled Fabritius Capito, see p. 379), the preacher of Basel, to Erasmus, dated 2 Sept. 1516, and preserved in the Deventer volume, appears to be an answer to a letter lately received, which has not survived. By this epistle, which contains some critical observations on the first edition of Erasmus's New Testament,—or New Instrument, as at this time he preferred to entitle it,—we are reminded how near we now are to

* Celsitudinis tuæ.

† Sed hic [*read* huc] ventus et libri iampridem relicti me iamdudum revocant.

‡ tua sublimitas.

§ Londini, *Farrago.* M.D.XV. *add. Opus Epistolarum.*

the controversies of the Reformation. A few extracts may here be given from a letter, evidently of a most confidential character, which its author probably intended to be destroyed immediately after perusal, little suspecting that it would be read some centuries later, as part of the history of a religious movement, of the imminence of which he was quite unaware. After a reference to Erasmus's preferment in his own country, which made his return to Basel less probable, the writer proceeds to say, that a compliment which he had himself received from his correspondent was not altogether undeserved.

EPISTLE 448. Deventer MS.; C. 1566 (75).

Wolfgang Faber to Erasmus.

* * * * *

It is true that I do something for the welfare of Letters. You need not think this is said in arrogance. I help forward the cause of literature, and of piety at the same time, by inviting my people to the reading of Erasmus. With this object I propose to lecture on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans as interpreted by you. I shall begin in a few days, and I foresee that the mere name of Erasmus will secure me a full, spontaneous and eager audience. Moreover, in my ordinary school, I have taken care that the boys shall learn their Erasmus, repeat him at home to their parents, and make Erasmus the one subject of their stammering praise. * * *

I am glad, however, that you are preparing a fresh edition of the New Instrument, and especially glad on account of the less learned majority, who think that whatever has escaped that hurried oversight is supported by your correction, and if different opinions are found in the Scholia, complain that your memory is so bad, that you are inconsistent with yourself. * * *

And now that I have so inappropriately assumed the part of an adviser, I will venture upon a still more audacious display of incompetence. I beseech you to say nothing,

either too warmly or too plainly, about the superstitious selection of food among Christians, about prayers ordered by the tale, or about all those things which have been adopted from common usage by the faith or credulity of the present age. Up to this time you have nobly undertaken the risk,† having spoken for the truth against the bent of our arrogance, and that no less sternly than constantly. Nevertheless beware of giving a handle to jealousy; she will certainly play you a shrewd turn, whenever an opportunity occurs. I do therefore, my Erasmus, beg and beseech you to keep yourself prudently within your old entrenchments. You know‡ what a character, what a spirit the false conviction of learning and religion has assumed among us. Do not add a single word,—unless guarded with that careful circumlocution of yours,—about Penance, or the Sacraments, or the superstitious constitutions of Monachism, or the popular error in relation to the Saints, or the weak onslaughts upon heretics founded merely on a forced interpretation of Scripture. If an opening is once made, the virulence of Envy will break in with full force; the accustomed knavery will thrust its own work upon the people, assuming the guise of heartfelt grief and honest zeal, and pious Erasmus will be condemned and execrated as the common enemy of Christendom. For you cannot but be aware, how much the blackening of your reputation is desired by those whose mean artifices are disconcerted by its brightness. * * *

I thank you for your letter so charming and so friendly, which I might well use to refute some silly and ignorant persons who deny your good will towards me, if you had not with singular kindness in the same letter asked me to be your adviser. These,—blockheads, I had almost said,—would not understand the distinction which for friendship's sake you confer on my incapacity, and would contend it was all

† præstitisti Periclem (*read* periculum).

‡ Scio (*read* Scis).

done either from fear or from poverty.† I would therefore rather leave them to disbelieve your goodwill, than that their haughtiness should think anything wrong or humiliating of you. Accordingly that letter, most agreeable as it is to me, shall be seen by no one, except perhaps by our Beatus, who is a man of sound judgment, and a sincere friend of Erasmus. * * *

I am providing myself with an apparatus of Latin words derived mainly from your works,—I trust a sufficiently pure and copious supply,—with the intention of publishing some time a Hebrew Lexicon. If I had propriety and elegance of diction at command, I should be confident I might do for the Hebrew, what could not easily be done by even the most learned Jew. I beseech you not to let my foolish nonsense be a trouble or burden to you; by rapid reading you will soon get rid of the worry. And please let our Rhenanus see, that I am one of your family!

I am commonly called Wolfgangus Faber, a barbarous name in combination with a condition of mind which is not quite that of an artisan. I wish you would soften the hardness of the letters in the name of *Wolfgangus*. I will readily adopt whatever spelling you like, whether Wolphangus Faber or any other.‡

Our bishop often mentions you, continually expressing an impatient desire for his Erasmus. You have left behind you here a sort of odour of your kindness and consummate literature, with which you attach to yourself Princes and Nobles, Prelates and People. Farewell.

[Basel], 2 September, 1516.§

† vel metu vel inopia factum. It may be suspected that the word *inopia* has been printed for some other word, but I cannot suggest any correction.

‡ The writer's name appears to have been originally Wolfgang Schmied, which was changed under Erasmus's advice first to Wolphangus Faber, and then to Fabritius Capito.

§ 2 Septembris, Anno 1516. C.

Probably the same messenger brought the following note from Beatus Rhenanus, who, at the end of his letter, sends his greeting to Erasmus's English servant, John Smith, now with his master at Antwerp. See pp. 88, 94, 391. The preferment alluded to by the writer was the canonry at Courtrai. See pp. 304, 309, 310.

Epistle 449. Deventer MS.; C. 1569 (76).

Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus.

Sorry as I am that you cannot leave your country, I am no less glad that you are in favour with the Great Chancellor of Flanders, whose goodwill has been shown by the surest evidence in conferring on you that magnificent preferment, which, to speak plainly, however rich and splendid it may be, will be found far inferior to your merits, to which the highest return is due; so that, as you fill the highest place among men of Letters, you ought to hold the worthier office, if your fortune answered your deserts. That will not be the case, until we hear that you are made a Bishop.

The briefs, about which you write, were by some mistake brought here after your departure, but I think Froben has sent them on to you.* Baer is now staying at Tann,† a town near here. Christopher, Bishop of Basel, has more regard for you than can be expressed. Since I have returned from home, I have not been living with Froben.

Thomas Grey has sent me from Paris, not a letter, but a volume. He excuses Lefèvre on account of ill health. My greetings to that excellent youth, John Smith. Farewell.

Basel, 3 Sept. 1516.‡

With Epistle 450 More sends to Erasmus the Manuscript of the *Utopia*, and its dedicatory letter inscribed to Peter Gillis, with whose character More in his visit to Antwerp had been so much delighted.

* As to these despatches from Rome, see p. 208.

† About Baer, see p. 387. ‡ Ex Basilea 3. Septembris, Anno 1516. C.

See p. 261. This famous book was soon to be committed to Thierry Martens for publication at Louvain; see p. 425. There are six letters of, or to, More, dated from September to December, 1516, in which it is mentioned, and in the first four it is called *Nusquama*. The name *Utopia* suggests the same sense, but is more euphonious, while it does not to the general ear so obviously call attention to the fiction. The Venetian ambassador mentioned in the following letter, Sebastian Giustiniani, had been not less than a year in England, but More appears to have only lately made his acquaintance. No letter of Erasmus to him has been preserved; but two letters from him to Erasmus are in the Deventer Manuscript. Epistles 466, 572. Germain de Brie (Brixius), a French scholar and friend of Erasmus, had published a poem celebrating an atchievement of the French at sea, *Chordigera Flagrans,* which was resented by More, who replied by some verses in his *Epigrammata.* About De Brie, see Jortin, *Erasmus,* i. 238.

Epistle 450. Deventer MS.; C. 1628 (174).

More to Erasmus.

I send you our *Nowhere*, nowhere well written;* and have prefixed to it a letter to my Peter. For the rest I have learned by experience, there is no need of my exhorting you to give it your best attention.

I have delivered your letter to the Venetian Ambassador, who seems to have been ready to receive with much satisfaction the New Testament, which has been intercepted by the Carmelite.† For he is entirely devoted to Sacred Literature, having gone through a course of almost all the authors who write upon minute questions, to which he attributes so much importance, that even Dorpius can go no further. Our interview was conducted with set speeches in grand style,—scratching each other with mutual compliments. But to say the truth, he quite charms me, for he seems a very honorable man, with a great experience of human

* *Nusquamam* nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto.

† The Carmelite is mentioned again in Epistle 474.

affairs, and now most devoted to the study of things divine, and lastly (though I do not myself put it last) very much attached to you.

I do not hear anything about business from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Colet has had no talk with him of your matter, but he has with my lord of York, whom he says he found so well disposed towards you and so effuse in your praises, that he could wish for nothing more, except that his fine words may be matched with deeds. This I expect he will shortly and amply perform.

My John will pay the money you left with me, to Gillis at Michaelmas; for he is not to be at Antwerp until that feast. If you publish my *Epigrammata*, please consider whether the verses I wrote against De Brie ought to be suppressed, as containing some things over bitter, although I might seem to have received provocation from him in the reproaches uttered against my country. Nevertheless, as I have said, please consider this matter; and in fact dispose of everything you may think invidious or merely silly, in such a way as you think best for me. Quintilian says, that Seneca was an author, who would have been better guided by his own genius and by some one else's judgment; so I am one whom it suits to write by another's judgment, though not by my own genius. Farewell, and greet Master Tunstall and Master Busleiden in my name.

London, in haste, 3 September, [1516].*

In September, 1516, Froben was preparing to reprint the treatise entitled *De Copia Verborum ac rerum*, together with the dissertations *De Ratione Studii*, and *De pueris instituendis* and the correspondence with Wimpfling (Epistles 295, 298), in a small 4to volume. By a short prefatory epistle, addressed to William Nesen of Nastätten, the corrector of Froben's press (see pp. 197, 372), and perhaps a school-

* Raptim Londino 3. Septembris, Anno 1517, C. The year-date appears to be interpolated in the Deventer Manuscript, from which this Epistle is taken. Kan, *Erasmiansch Gymnasium*, p. 6, No. 229.

master by profession, the author commends these works to the printer's care. This prefatory address, Epistle 451, which is not included in any collection of Erasmus's Epistles, is reprinted in Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*, and copied from that work in the Appendix to Jortin's *Erasmus*. It had not been seen by Nesen himself before he left Basel to attend the September book-fair at Frankfort, and was added upon the back of the title, probably after the book was wholly or partly printed. See pp. 389, 390. The book was not completed for some months. It bears the imprint, Basileæ apud Io. Frobenium Mense Aprili An. M.D.XVII. Panzer, *Annales Typographici*, vi. 200.

EPISTLE 451. Copia, Basil. 1517 ; Maittaire, Annales Typographici, ii. 292 ; Jortin, Erasmus, ii. 593.

Erasmus to William Nesen.

Whether, my good Nesen, you have been guided by your judgment, or by the ardour of your affection for me, you have certainly succeeded in recommending to Erasmus his small Commentaries on Copiousness, of which he was not before so loving a father. The praises with which you have extolled them, the lessons and discourses you have founded upon them, have made them more yours by adoption than they are mine by parentage.

I have therefore by your wish revised them on board ship,* so that even that time might not be quite lost to study. It will be for you to see that they issue again to the public, printed with the greatest possible correctness in Froben's larger type, so that, if they fail to commend themselves to the reader by their erudition, they may at any rate do so by their appearance. Farewell, dearest Nesen.

Antwerp, 5 Sept. 1516.†

* ita ut volebas recognovi inter navigandum. It is not clear whether Erasmus refers to his voyage down the Rhine in the early summer, or to his late voyage to England and back.

† Antuuerpiæ. Nonis Septembr. Anno a Christo nato M.D.XVI. Maittaire.

In Epistle 394 (p. 253), we have had a letter of Erasmus to Boniface Amerbach, then apparently a student of law at Freiburg. The three brothers Amerbach appear to be all now at Basel, whence Bruno, the eldest, sends (probably by the hand of Francis bookseller) the following letter to Erasmus. The opening words appear to imply, that the writer had lately given up a profession which was distasteful to him. Probably both the brothers had been students of law.

Epistle 452. Deventer MS. ; C. 1569 (77).

Bruno Amerbach to Erasmus.

I have escaped at last from that miserable cave of Trophonius, which nevertheless has had such a wretched effect upon my spirits, that I can scarcely lift up my head. "What are you doing," you will ask, "now that you have recovered your freedom?" Restored to my own studies after a long delay, I have devoted myself entirely to Letters, and am chiefly occupied night and day with your learned and no less elegant lucubrations, so that I may converse with you in that way, while I am not permitted to shake you by the hand and to hear your living voice. As I quite despair of your return to us, I intend to visit Italy next spring. You will do me a great favour, if you will introduce me by letter to Bombasius ; I will endeavour in some way to show my gratitude ; please give the letter for me to Francis bookseller at the spring Frankfort fair. I congratulate you on the benefice lately conferred on you. Lachner is going to send, by Francis, the sheets wanting in the volumes sent to the Archbishop, and seven copies of the Works of Jerome besides, with which you will do as you please. My brothers Basil and Boniface send their greetings to you ; both are devoted to you, and long to shake your hand. Our friend Chunrad is lamenting, that he has so fallen out of your recollection, that you have not even sent him a greeting in your letters to other friends.

Farewell, Æsculapius of Good Letters, and give me some love in return for my respect and veneration.

Basel, 5 Sept. 1516.*

Chunrad was, I presume, an assistant of Froben, with whom Erasmus had been on familiar terms at Basel.

During his absence from Basel Erasmus was pursued with complimentary verses from his learned Swiss and German friends. The following letter of Henry Lorit of Glaris enclosed two poems of the writer, and one by Hermann Busch. The letter is of interest as showing, that the influence exercised by Erasmus over the young Swiss professor had been distinctly moral, and religious in an evangelical direction. This is further shown by some passages omitted for the sake of brevity in the translation. The letter contains a reference to the negotiations, by which, in the autumn of 1516, the Pope, the Emperor and the King of England were endeavouring to prevent the Swiss Cantons from forming a French alliance, which the writer, whose sympathies were with France, and who was himself expecting preferment in Paris, looked upon as a desirable and natural arrangement. Erasmus had conveyed to Glarean an invitation to come to the Low Countries, with which invitation Lord Mountjoy seems to have been in some way concerned. See p. 386. Epistle 453 is included in one of the earliest collections published under the authority of Erasmus.

EPISTLE 453. Epist. s.q. eleg. p.155; Ep. i. 34; C. 197 (217).

Henry Glarean to Erasmus.

If, dearest Erasmus, you love any one on account of his loving you, I ought to stand very high indeed in your regard. You may safely believe that there is no one dearer to me; and I wish you could as thoroughly discern what is within me as you are familiar with my outside. You would see in very truth another Alcibiades, and one so far surpassing

* Basilea, 5 Septembris, Anno 1516. C.

Alcibiades as what I owe to you is more than Alcibiades owed to Socrates. It was a great thing to have learned morality from Socrates, and to have been led by his admonitions to a better life, but I have received much more from you. Beside innumerable other benefits, the chief is this, that you have taught me to know Christ, and not to know him only, but to imitate, to reverence and to love him. * *

As to what you say about my fortune, that it could not fail, if I were with you,—I am sorry I cannot join you, but it is not without reason that I put off doing so. Our country is in disorder; peace not yet concluded with France, whether delayed by the English or by the Emperor, is uncertain. Maximilian's ambassadors have been here, and also those of England, promising not money but mountains of gold, to prevent Gauls from uniting with Gauls. It is by some suspected that the thing is not done by the order of the English king, but by the craft of the Emperor.† Thus I am in hopes of peace; and if it is concluded, I expect to have in Paris a salary of two hundred crowns‡ a year. Besides this, I have with me in my house thirty youths of good ability, who pay me a hundred and twenty crowns a year, though this is not enough to recompense my labour.

I specially entreat, that my failing to come upon so kind an invitation may not prejudice me with you, or with those other lords, who may some day perhaps become my friends. For at Whitsuntide, if peace is not made with France, and if your Prince is well, as I heartily trust he may be, I will venture to fly to you, even if it be through the midst of foes. Meantime my kinsmen and dearest friends have earnestly begged me not to go; but I make them no certain promise. Mountjoy's name cannot be otherwise than dear to me until Erasmus ceases to be dear; his distinction and worth have been impressed on my mind both by the works which you

† Τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τέχνῃ.

‡ ducentorum scutatorũ. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

have dedicated to him, and by a talk I once had with you about his kindness.

Baer was not present when the letter was brought; so I have not been able to learn anything from him. But since you left us, the Sophists have been so furious against me, that they pulled down my placards from the church-doors, and prohibited the public reading of Seneca; I read, however, in spite of them, being most afraid of their inducing Baer to side with them.* He however, not to compromise himself, did not take much part in the business.

I had nearly made up my mind not to send you my poem, as a boyish composition, and not in any part sufficient for so great a man, or, if you reject this expression as adulatory, for so great a friend. But I hope that it will all pass under your censure, for if I had not been influenced by this hope, I should have thrown the rubbish into the fire. I have also sent some other verses upon your departure, which I addressed to Oswald, a person much attached to you, and a bold champion of mine against the Sophists. I have alluded in my verses to this battle, and to your most charming present of the time-piece.† The goldsmith has engraved neatly upon it‡ the letters, Ἐράσμιος Γλαρεάνῳ. Meantime it always reposes upon silk.

Busch's poem, which I like very much, I have written out as carefully as I could from a badly written draft. I therefore beg you to take the trouble to look it over.

* The term, Sophists, appears to be used of some officers,—perhaps the Theological Readers of the University of Basel, of which Lewis Baer, a member of a family of some local importance, was at this time Dean, and afterwards Rector and Vice-chancellor. Burckhardt, *Basler Biographien*, p. 59.

† cujus pugnæ memini, simul et horologii tui gratissimi munusculi. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

‡ belle incidit Aurarius. This last word is printed in *Epistolæ s. q. elegantes* with a capital letter like a proper name, but the sense here ascribed to it is not altogether without authority; and the word *auraria* (sc. fodina) is found in Tacitus. Compare *argentarius*.

Oswald, Rhetus, and all my pupils were much gratified by your greetings, which they all desire me to return, wishing you all health and happiness. You told me to write at length, and that I have purposely done, more perhaps than to the purpose. But what else could I do,—able to talk but powerless to say?* Farewell, dearest Erasmus, my star and my glory.

From my prison at Basel, 5 September, 1516.†

In the above letter we read of a small time-piece, which lay on a silken cushion; possibly one of the 'Nuremberg Eggs,' which are said to have been invented about this time, and to have been the first examples of what we now call a watch. Pirckheimer may well have brought this latest invention under the notice of Erasmus.

The main object of Erasmus's recent visit to England had been to determine, in concert with his best adviser, the final form of his application for the Papal Indulgence. See p. 313. The following letter, a copy of which remains at Basel among the documents in the possession of Erasmus at his death, was addressed on this occasion to Pope Leo by Ammonius. The copy is without date, but we learn from Epistle 467, that Ammonius wrote a letter to the Pope, not long after Erasmus's departure. Epistles 434, 443 (see comment in p. 338), and 454,—the first dated 9 August, 1516, the others without date,—were all written in furtherance of the same object, though not on the same day, and were probably dispatched to Rome together.‡

Epistle 454. Vischer, Erasmiana, p. 24.

Ammonius to Pope Leo X.

Most blessed Father, No occasion has hitherto arisen, upon which I have thought myself justified in presuming to

* λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.

† Basileæ ex pistrino meo. Anno Dñi M.D.XVI. ad Nonas Septembres. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

‡ See p. 317, where for Epistle 434b, we should read Epistle 454.

address a letter to your Holiness, the loftiest eminence of mankind; but now I feel myself constrained to do so by a sufficiently cogent reason. My object is one, which I do not doubt will be approved by all lovers of Good Letters; I desire to commend to your Holiness Erasmus,—a man already most highly commended by his eminent erudition,—in order that he may apply himself with a calmer mind to the common cause of learning,* and that the eternity of your Holiness may have in him a most attached devotee; † not that your greatness can be enhanced by any praises, but that no more acceptable sacrifice is offered to divine beings ‡ than the praise of a priest who by his character and genius approaches nearest to his Maker. My confidence is encouraged by the divine benignity of your Holiness, which has been wont to lend a gracious ear to the prayers of persons of the humblest rank, and to encourage learning not only with Indulgence, but with silver and with gold. These however are not sought by Erasmus, who will be supremely content with Indulgence alone, whereof (however rare that is which he requires) I judge him to be most worthy, seeing that his genius is also rare, and cannot be matched by any ordinary beneficence. The right reverend lord, the Bishop of Worcester, will more fully lay his prayers and mine before the feet of your Holiness.

[Westminster, 1516.]

The writer of the following letter was the corrector of Froben's press (see pp. 371, 382), who was now at Frankfort upon business of the firm during the September book fair, which lasted for three weeks. He had consequently not yet seen Epistle 451, addressed to him by

* quo ille sereniore animo rei p[ublice] literarie possit incumbere. The word publicæ appears superfluous.

† ut vestre sanctitatis eternitas talem suo numini mysten devotissimum habeat.

‡ sed quod numina haud melius ulla victima coluntur.

Erasmus, which was printed on the back of the title-page of the *Copia*, after he had left Basel; and he suspected that the author had transferred the promised distinction to some person of eminence.

Epistle 455. Deventer MS.; C. 1588 (106).

Nesen to Erasmus.

I am indeed sorry, that the immortality which you, and you alone, might have conferred upon me has been intercepted by some eminent rascal.* I should have valued it more than ten rivers of Tagus or Pactolus, or whatever else this impostor World admires.

The *Moria* is not printed yet. It was delayed by those rascals of soldiers, who, just as you were leaving us, made an incursion into Lorraine, and prevented Froben from obtaining good paper. It is now, however, on the anvil, and we shall make up for the neglect by greater diligence. There is nothing new at Frankfort, but a person called Cœlius, who has written,—in imitation of Pliny, if you please,—a sort of Universal History.

Lachner is sending you, as a present, seven complete copies of the Works of Jerome, and also, by Francis, another copy, out of which you may make up whatever is deficient in the copy you took with you, so that you may have eight copies in all.†

I have not yet seen the *Copia*; having received your letter, not at Basel but at Frankfort. You write that it is mine; but how is it mine, when a person like myself, of the lowest rank in Letters, is not acknowledged by any epistle in its opening pages? I will take care nevertheless, that it be printed, both correctly, and as quickly as can be done? Lachner entreats you, if you have devised anything

* præreptam mihi a nebulone quopiam insigni. † See p. 384.

new, or if anything is to be licked into shape afresh, to put it into his hands; and he will make some partial return for the favour. It is impossible fully to recompense one to whom Nature, in giving all that she had to give, has shown that she is by no means effete or barren, but can still produce a genius to match the Ancients.

I am very sorry that Theodore * has been assigned to some rascal elsewhere, as I hoped he would come back to us inscribed to Nesen, a person I cannot say faultless, but certainly not unfriendly; I still hope my Erasmus will gratify me in some other way.

Farewell, and forgive my want of learning. I have been writing this in the Inn at Frankfort; and will write more fully from Basel. Give my salutation to my English friend, to whom I would have written, if I had had more time.

Frankfort, [September] 1516.

The *Anglus* mentioned in the last sentence was, no doubt, Erasmus's English servant John, the son of Robert Smith of Cambridge. See pp. 88, 94, 380. The author mentioned in an earlier part of the letter as Cœlius was probably Lewis Richier (Ludovicus Cœlius Rhodiginus), a voluminous author and editor, whose *Antiquarum Lectionum Commentarii* were printed by Aldus at Venice in 1516, and by Froben at Basel in 1517, and afterwards reprinted at various places. Possibly this may be the work which Nesen calls a sort of Universal History.

We may infer from the following letters of Archbishop Warham to More, and of More to Erasmus, Epistles 456, 457, that Erasmus was believed by his English friends to be at Louvain; but a few days later he still writes from Antwerp (Epistle 461, p. 399), where he appears to have remained for three or four weeks before settling himself for the winter at Brussels. There is no other evidence of his being at Louvain at this time; and More's letter was probably delivered to him at Antwerp. Maruffo's bill was in Erasmus's hands at the latter place in the beginning of October; see p. 398. Compare Epistle 432, p. 311.

* The Preface of Erasmus to the Greek Grammar of Theodorus Gaza was addressed to Joannes Cæsarius of Jülich. Epistle 415, pp. 291, 292.

Epistle 456, as it is found in the Deventer Manuscript, is in Latin, though the Archbishop would, no doubt, write to More in English. I conclude that More, in communicating the letter to Erasmus (see Epistle 457), thought it best to send him a translation. Some delay appears to have occurred in forwarding the Archbishop's money to Erasmus. Two letters of More, written in September, Epistles 450 and 457, the first of which, dated early in the month, was accompanied by the manuscript of the *Utopia*,—being both probably addressed to Louvain,—were not delivered at Antwerp till the beginning of October. Epistle 461, p. 398. Meantime Erasmus's funds were becoming low, and in the expectation of receiving an English horse from Ursewick in addition to the Irish one presented to him by Ammonius, he resolved to empty his stable, and so provide for his daily expenses. See p. 394. Epistles 456 and 457 had not reached him when he wrote about his empty purse in Epistle 458.

Epistle 456. D.; C. 1570 (80).

Archbishop Warham to More.

I have sent a letter to Maruffo, in which I have directed him to provide for the payment at Louvain of ten, or (if a larger sum is wanted) of twenty Pounds to our most learned Erasmus, and have promised him to refund the same upon sight of Master Erasmus's letter of receipt. I want you therefore to see Maruffo, and ascertain whether he will do what is required. If he makes any difficulty, I have ordered my servant Henry Jenkyn, the bearer of this letter, to go to Master Antonio de Vivaldis, and arrange this business with him on my account.

From my house at Otford, 16 Sept. 1516.*

The following letter, addressed apparently to Louvain, was no doubt delivered to Erasmus at Antwerp by the servant sent by More to that place shortly before Michaelmas. See Epistle 450, p. 382.

* Ex ædibus meis de Oxford [*read* Otford] 16 Septembris, Anno 1516. C.

EPISTLE 457. Deventer MS.; C. 1553 (52).

More to Erasmus.

Dearest Erasmus, The lord Archbishop of Canterbury has ordered twenty English Pounds to be sent to you. I send you therefore Maruffo's bill, and the Archbishop's letter to me, in order that you may lose no time in letting him know that you have received the money, so that Maruffo may be entitled to recover it. I have written to one of our countrymen, who is to receive my money at your Fair, to pay Gillis thirty Pounds Flemish, whereupon he must acknowledge, in your name, the payment of those twenty Pounds English, which you lately deposited with me.

I have sent Latimer your letter, and another from myself, about the Bishop of Rochester, but have not yet heard from him, nor from the Bishop*; but Colet is already working hard at Greek with some help volunteered by my Clement. I think he will persevere and make good progress, especially if you send him a fillip all the way from Louvain; though perhaps it will be better to leave him to his own impulse. He is apt, as you know, to resist persuasion for the sake of a dispute, even if one wants to persuade him to do the very thing to which he is himself most inclined.

I have called on Ursewick. He says he has not forgotten about the horse, and will soon arrange for your having one. When he does so, I will let you know the particulars, so that you may not be taken in by a substitute.

In haste, London, the morrow of St. Matthew, 22 Sept. 1516.†

* We may conjecture that More had been asked to communicate with Latimer about the help required by the Bishop in his Greek studies.

† 25 Febr. Anno 1516. C. The Deventer MS. has been read: Raptim, Lond. postridie Matthiæ apostoli. The feast of St. Matthias was 24 Feb. but the letter points to September. We therefore read Matthæi. So Reich, *Erasmus*, p. 192.

When the following epistle was written, Erasmus was intending before long to transfer his residence to Brussels, and had not yet received the pecuniary assistance which was on its way to him from England, pp. 392, 393. A letter to the same correspondent, written two days before, which is mentioned at the end of this epistle, has not been preserved.

Epistle 458. Deventer MS.; C. 1571 (81).

Erasmus to Jerome Busleiden.

I am compelled to sell my horses by sheer want of money, having emptied my purse in buying clothes and arming myself against the approaching winter. It is not pleasant to ride naked, and I cannot any longer afford to clothe myself and keep horses at the same time. I have had some offers to buy, but the winter being near keeps the prices low. I do not want to force them on you, or to recommend them; but if you find it convenient, take either of them or both, and fix your own price after trial; or, if you like, do not fix any. If you do not take them, I shall turn them out for what they will fetch, that they may not eat me up.

The Chancellor has ordered me to come to Brussels. I do not know what the occasion is. If he repeats his summons, I shall take wings and fly; and even if he does not, within ten days I intend to pack up my baggage and remove entirely to Brussels, as this plan pleases me more and more.

I write laconically, having written two days ago. Farewell, most distinguished Busleiden.

Antwerp, 28 Sept. 1516.*

In the third line of the following letter to Reuchlin, we should perhaps read Iunio for Iulio, unless the correction should rather be made in the date of Epistle 405, p. 277.

* Antuerpia, 28 Septembr. 1516. C.

EPISTLE 459. Illustrium vir. Epist. ad Reuchlin, fol. t. 1; Geiger, Reuchlins Briefwechsel, p. 258.

Erasmus to Reuchlin.

After I had made up my mind to write to you by the first messenger at my command, your letter has been delivered to me here at Antwerp. But what you wrote in July* I have received at the end of September. To answer in few words, it was indeed my duty, most learned Reuchlin, to write and thank you for the manuscript which is so dear to you, and which you kindly lent us.† My omission to do this was owing to Froben, who sent back the book without telling me of it. I am delighted to hear, that my trifles are approved by the vote of one so good and learned as you. But as for your despising your own productions, when compared with mine, your judgment is too friendly, and your modesty excessive. How can you lament your infelicity, when you were in Italy in that most favoured age, in which Agricola, Politian, Hermolaus and Pico flourished, when you have acquired such various and recondite learning, have been familiar with men of the highest genius, and are so beloved by the best and most learned now living, that if you were their father, you could not be more intimately dear to them all. The Bishop of Rochester almost adores you; to John Colet your name is sacred, and if his servant had not lost your letter, he would have kept it, as he said, among his sacred relics. I was visiting lately a very old Carthusian Monastery at St. Omer. The Prior of that house, by reading your books, without any other instructor, had obtained a

* Mense Iulio scriptæ. See the observation at the foot of p. 394.

† This was probably Reuchlin's Manuscript of the Greek Testament, mentioned in Epistle 294, p. 157.

very considerable acquaintance with Hebrew, and was so devoted to you, that your very name was an object of reverence. I happened to have with me a letter of yours; and when he saw your hand-writing, he kissed it over and over again, and begged me most earnestly to leave it with him. There are many persons who have the same feeling about you. And if our own age is wanting in recognition, you will be acknowledged by Posterity, and what is more, you will be acknowledged by Christ, to whom your labours are devoted.

Do write a few lines to Colet. He is now, at his age, learning Greek, in which the bishop of Rochester has also made good progress.

Farewell, most learned Reuchlin.

Antwerp, 29 September, from the house of Peter Gillis, Public Secretary,* to which you may send anything that you intend to be delivered to me.

Epistle 460. D.; C. 1571 (82).

Josse Bade to Erasmus.

I have received your splendid book on *Similes*, which, though you modestly say that you wish it to be distinguished by my labours, would indeed be a great honour to my Press, but for the damage done me by several persons, whom I do not care to name, the nature of which, if you do not understand it, is this. People have such an opinion of you, that if you announce that any of your works has been revised by you, even though no addition is made, they think nothing more of the former impression. This damage I have suffered in the case of the *Copia*, the *Panegyric*, the

* Antwerpiæ. III. Kal. Octob. Ex ædibus Petri Egidii publici Scribæ. *Illustrium vir. Epist. ad Reuchlin.*

Moria, the *Enchiridion* (for I had bought 500 volumes) and the *Adages*, of which I was obliged to order 110 copies. You would therefore consult our interest, if you allotted one work to one printer, and made no change until he had disposed of his copies. This you have partly provided for with respect to the book of *Similes*, if you have given warning to the former printer, and have not encouraged Thierry to print it. I sent by your suggestion a great many copies of your *Panegyric* to Germany. It was taking an owl to Athens ;* the book was already printed there !

Nevertheless, as the *Similes* are congruous to the *Copia*, they shall be printed in the same type and on similar paper, as soon as I have a press disengaged. I have been looking some time for a fair space in the forefront of an important book, which I may make resonant with the cry, how much I reverence that wise eloquence. Not that I shall do anything new, or heighten the received opinion ; but I shall cast a sop † to my own impatient desire, and so prevent its turning to madness. I remember alluding ‡ to this, when I replied at large to your former letter, and gave our Budé's letter, carefully written out, to the son-in-law of Josse, the messenger of the Privy Council in session at Ghent, § to be conveyed to you. Budé is anxious to know, whether you have received his letter or not ; it was written since your coming to Brabant, perhaps forty days ago.‖ My boy, the

* "Coals to Newcastle." The Greek proverb is found in the Birds of Aristophanes, Τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθήνας ἤγαγε ;

† The phrase 'a sop to Cerberus' (Cerbero objecta ofella) is used in Epistle 423, to which the writer refers as having accompanied the letter of Budé. See p. 303.

‡ ad quam allidere [*qu.* alludere] memimi.

§ Tabellionis dominorum a secretis Gandavi agentium.

‖ The letter of Budé, Epistle 422, is dated 7 July, more than eighty days earlier than this (see p. 302), and appears to have been forwarded from Ghent on the 3rd of August by Antonius Clava, the Councillor of Flanders, who resided in that city. See p. 311.

bearer of this, will be capable of bringing back an answer. Farewell.

Paris, 29 Sept. 1516.*

Erasmus was now preparing to remove to Brussels, when two letters arrived from More, probably Epistles 450 and 457, with the manuscript of the *Utopia*, called in these letters *Nusquama* and *Insula*. See pp. 381, 399, 422. In *Opus Epistolarum* and later reprints of the following letter, the word *Nusquamæ* in the last clause is replaced by *Utopiæ*.

EPISTLE 461. Farrago, p. 182; Ep. vii. 13; C. 202 (218).

Erasmus to More.

The preparations for my journey were already made, when the two letters were delivered to me at the same time; but no boy, nor any merchant has been here to see us.† I have shown Maruffo's bill to Gaspar. It orders the payment of broad ducats of full weight, or their value. (You will recognize *valor*, not as a military but a commercial expression.)‡ I asked what their value was. He answered thirty-seven florins and a half.§ "But," said I, "the value can mean nothing else to me but the public estimate, authorized by the Sovereign." "No," said he, "but we have this custom." "And by this reckoning," said I, "we are deceived, as we cannot guess your custom by the bill." So I took my bill back again. Please let the man know, that I have no intention of losing fifteen florins out of sixty angels; and ask the Archbishop to pay you the money, which you will deposit

* Parisiis 29 Septembr. 1516. C.

† By Epistles 450, 457, pp. 382, 393, More had promised that an Englishman should call and pay some money deposited by Erasmus with More. See further Epistles 470, 472.

‡ This parenthetical sentence is not in *Farrago*, but in *Opus Epist.*

§ Respondit Florēn. 37. cum dimidiato. *Farrago.* Stuferos. 37. cum dimidiato. *Opus Epist.*

with the Germans Sterling, and send me the bill,* so that I may receive the money here, unless you have the means of sending it by some person more directly. I have quite emptied my cash-box in clothing myself. Believe me, my dear More, I have run through more than four hundred florins,† and the danger is that I shall die of hunger in my new clothes.

If Tunstall winters here, I shall join him, as he is very desirous I should do so. The Englishman's host has been with Peter Gillis while I write, offering prices of books;‡ but not a word about our money. Do give Ursewick a push.

The Jerome will be here in a day or two, with an enormous packet of letters for me. When I have received them, I will inform you if there is anything you ought to know. Every care shall be taken about the *Island*, and the other matters. I have written this letter in the midst of packing, and am just going to mount my horse. Farewell, dearest More, with all yours.

I have directed that Canterbury, Colet, Rochester, Ursewick, and you, if you please, should be among the first to receive the volumes of Jerome. Farewell again.

Peter Gillis is simply in love with you; you are still always with us.§ He is wonderfully struck with your *Nusquama*,‖ and sends his hearty greeting to you and all your family.

Antwerp, 2 October 1516.¶

* tu collocabis apud Germanos Sterlingñ. et scriptum huc mittes. *Farrago.*

† supra quadringentos florenos. *Farrago.*

‡ Adiit hæc cum scriberem Petrum Aegidium hospes Anglorum, offerens pretia librorum. *Farrago, Opus Epist.* I do not follow the meaning of this.

§ Nobiscum assidue vivis. *Farrago.* vivit. *Opus. Epist.*

‖ Mire favet tuæ Nusquamæ. *Farrago.* tuæ Utopiæ. *Opus Epist.*

¶ Antuuerpiæ. Postridie Cal. Octobr. ANNO M.D.XVI. *Farrago.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

Residence removed to Brussels. Letters to Peter Gillis, Ammonius and Budé. Letters of Giustiniani, Colet, Ammonius, More and Fisher. October and November, 1516. Epistles 462 to 473.

In accordance with his intention expressed in Epistles 458 and 461, Erasmus appears to have left Antwerp on the 2nd day of October, and transferred his quarters to Brussels. In Epistle 462, dated 6 Oct. 1516, he sends a report of his proceedings to his late host, Peter Gillis, adding some advice, which his recent intercourse with his correspondent had suggested.

Epistle 462. *Auctarium Epist.* p. 57; Ep. ii. 27; C. 203 (219).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I have got a chamber here, no easy matter with the town so full of people. The room is very small, but near the Court, and what is to me a still greater recommendation, near Tunstall. Please therefore forward my books here on the first opportunity, either by boat or waggon; and at the same time write by some other messenger, to say whom you have employed, and to what address you have ordered them to be taken.

Pompilius, I see, plays a crafty part.* He is only following his old habit, which makes it more easy for me to bear. Perhaps I shall some day have occasion to give him tit for tat.

* Pompilius ut video artificem agit. I cannot explain who the person here intended was. The name is perhaps suggested by the Pompilius sanguis of Horace. *Epist. ad Pisones*, 292.

Would you like to hear something to make you laugh? An honour, which those, who make the greatest and most continual efforts to reach it, often fail to attain, has almost lighted upon me in my sleep! The Catholic King has been on the point of making me a bishop. Where? you will say. Not in the furthest Indies,—from which however our friend Barbirius, put in charge of those whom he will never see, draws a supply of gold,—but among the Sicilians, a people once Greek, and even now lively and gay. But it has been a fortunate mistake, and has turned out just as I should wish. It was discovered, that the patronage of the See belonged to the Pope; and then the King requested the Pope as a favour to himself, to allow his appointment to stand. All this was going on at Brussels, while I was amusing myself with my writing at Antwerp, and it was on this account, that the Chancellor had ordered me to be summoned. If I had had any scent of the matter, I should have been still slower in changing my quarters.* When I arrived, and those who knew about it congratulated me and wished it might turn out well, I could do nothing but laugh. I thanked my friends nevertheless for their kind intention, while I warned them not to put themselves in future to any useless trouble in an affair of this kind, as I was not ready to exchange my leisure for any bishopric however splendid. There is a dream to amuse you! And yet I was gratified by the disposition shown by so great a Sovereign, who does not generally favour any but those whom he knows to be worthy, or at any rate supposes to be so.

I am glad, my sweet Peter, to have relieved you from so much trouble, for I was beginning to pity you and your dear wife. And yet you cannot hold me answerable for all the trouble I gave. Your love was so boundless, that you were never satisfied with the kindnesses you heaped

* See Epistle 458, p. 394.

upon me ; while your wife, whose first study is to content you, could in this matter scarcely ever do enough. Now that Erasmus is away, you will enjoy her society in greater comfort. How little it is, that separation takes away from us, and even that may be made up by frequent letters, which I hope you will send me, as lively and cheerful as can be ; for I shall understand by that, that you are in good health. This is what I have at heart as much as anything, and it is for the most part, believe me, in your own hands.

Most of our diseases proceed from the mind, and you will be less upset by the labours of study, if you regulate your studies by reason. Arrange your library, and all your letters and papers, in certain settled places. Do not allow yourself to be attracted now to one author and now to another, but take one of the best in your hands with no intention of letting him go until you have come to the last page, noting, as you go on, whatever seems worth remembering. Lay down for yourself a definite scheme of life, determining what you want to do, and at what hours ; and do not crowd one thing upon another without finishing what you begin first ; in this way you will lengthen your day, which is now almost totally lost. And whereas you find fault with your memory, you will do well, in my opinion, to make a diary for each year,—it is no great trouble to do so,—and note down daily, in a word or two, if anything has taken place that you wish not to forget. I have known persons who have found great advantage in this system, one of whom was that excellent prelate, Francis Busleiden, Archbishop of Besançon. Above all things I beg and entreat you to accustom yourself in the conduct of life to be guided by judgment, and not by impulse. If you have made any mistake, consider at once whether you can set it right in any way, or diminish the evil ; that you will do better if you do it quietly than in an excited state. If there is any remedy, apply it ; if not, what good can come of anger or

sorrow, except that you double the evil by your own fault; I beseech you by our friendship to let nothing be more important to you than life and health. If you can keep your fortune without loss of health, do so by all means; if not, you lose more than you gain, when you save your fortune by risking your health or quiet. And, as a last argument, if you do not care enough for yourself, see that you do not ruin two persons by one blow; for we shall never think ourselves safe if you are not safe too, since I look upon you, so help me Heaven, as the better part of myself.

Do not take too much pains about trifling matters. Life is fleeting; health is brittle, and not to be casually squandered. Some things must be disregarded, and the mind raised to what is great. Make Seneca and Plato your familiars; if these are often in converse with you, they will not suffer your mind to sink. It is the characteristic of a truly great mind to overlook some injuries, and have no ear or tongue for some people's abuse. Make the experiment, how much more effect is produced by politeness and conciliation, than by headlong and uncontrolled passion.

Support your excellent father's old age, as you do, with kind attentions, not only because he is your father, but still more because he is such a father as he is. Enjoy the society of your sincere friends, and make the best of those that are feigned.

Live with your good wife in such a way, that she may love you not only as a bedfellow, and not only love but respect you. And so confide in her, as to make her a partner with yourself, in all the things that relate either to household affairs or to the enjoyment of life. Maintain your authority over your household, but in such a fashion, that domestic familiarity may be flavoured with courtesy. As to the bringing up of children, it is useless for me to give any advice, as you have such a model in your own father.

You see, sweetest Peter, how I have the best advice for you, while I have little for myself. But it is my affection for you that makes me so silly. Farewell with all your family.

Brussels, 6 October, 1516.*

The above letter appears to have been dated, when written, with the date of year as well as month,—a practice which Erasmus had not been accustomed to use in his familiar letters. Possibly as a composition on which he had taken some pains, he may have thought it worth preserving, with its full date. Epistle 463, dictated on the same day, has no original year-date, and was consequently, when printed, attributed to a wrong year.

EPISTLE 463. Farrago, p. 224; Ep. viii. 30; C. 137 (160).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

Do you want something to make you laugh? When I waited upon my Mæcenas the Chancellor, on coming back to Brussels, he turned to some Councillors who were standing by, and said, "He does not know yet, how great a person he is." Then addressing me, "The Prince," said he, "is trying to make you a Bishop, and had already conferred upon you a bishopric in Sicily of no slight value; but it was afterwards discovered, that it was not in the list of Reserved Sees, as they call them. He has accordingly written to the Pope in your favour, that he may let you have it." On hearing this I could not help laughing, and yet I am pleased with the regard shown me by the Prince, or rather by the Chancellor, who is really prince. I hope the dénouement of this comedy will turn out well, for almost at the same

* Bruxellae. An. M.D.XVI. Pridie nonas Octobres. *Auctarium.*

time we wrote from England,* and they from Brabant. I thirst to hear how the matter will end.

I am going to winter at Brussels, and whatever you send to Tunstall will be delivered to me forthwith, as we are constantly together. Louvain is not so much to my mind. If I were there, I should have to live at my own cost, and take pupils. There would be young men constantly whispering "Look over these verses," "Correct this letter," one demanding this author, another that; and there is no one there, who could be either creditable or useful to me. Besides all this, I should have been obliged to listen to the grumblings of those pseudo-theologians, a class of people disagreeable beyond all others, among whom one has quite lately arisen that has almost raised an outcry against me. It is a case, in which (as it is said in Greek) I have the wolf by the ear, without being able either to overpower him or let him go. He fawns in my presence, and bites behind my back; promises to be a friend, and acts the part of an enemy.† How I wish great Jupiter would break up and recast this whole race of creatures, who contribute nothing to make people either better or more learned, and yet give trouble to everybody.

Jerome was on sale at Antwerp, even when I was there. So Francis arranges the scenes of the play, to make it suit everywhere his own purpose.‡ He would not even show me my letters, before he had provided for himself, and only told

* Erasmus's letter to the Pope, Epistle 434, though dated in August, was probably not despatched without some delay. This letter, and that of Ammonius, Epistle 454, written a little later, and also the Grunnius correspondence, if I am right in attributing it to this period, were not improbably sent to Rome together. See pp. 313, 317, 370, 388.

† The reader may suspect that the person intended is Dorpius. See Epistles 464, 469, pp. 407, 411.

‡ Erasmus had perhaps intended to dispose of some of his copies of this work (see p. 384), by sale to the Flemish booksellers. But Francis had anticipated him by an importation from Basel.

me, that he had brought an enormous parcel, including one from the Bishop. I will impart some portion of their gossip, when I have them. I received lately at Antwerp the papers you sent to Basel, returned, I suppose, by Pace;* and yet not a word from him. Farewell, most learned Ammonius.

Brussels, 6 Oct. [1516].†

The following letter is a stray epistle added by Merula to the old published collection (see Introduction, p. xlv). Erasmus finds occupation for Peter Gillis, who, though parted from him, is still in some measure acting as his secretary. The other Peter named in the first clause, is, perhaps, the book-binder. A second edition of Jerome's works edited by Erasmus, was published by Froben in 1520.

EPISTLE 464. Merula, Vita Erasmi, p. 137; Ep. xxx. 75; C. 1776 (388).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

Make haste and let me have the Jerome conveniently arranged for adding notes. As to the number and arrangement of the volumes, ask Peter's advice. I think it will do, if it is bound in six volumes. If you handed the letters for the Bishops of Basel and Bern to Francis, I have no doubt‡ they have been delivered. I had an impression that we had entrusted them to another person.

I do not embellish anywhere.§ I want you to write a preface, but addressed to anyone else rather than to me. I should rather prefer Busleiden. In the other matters, act

* Antuuerpiæ recepi nuper quæ tu Basileam miseras, a Paceo, sicut opinor, allata. *Farrago.* I have ventured to read, relata. Pace was busy in Switzerland. Brewer, Abstracts, 2350, 2428. As to these papers, see p. 208.

† Bruxellae pridie Nonas Octobr. M.D.XIV. *Farrago.*

‡ Si epistolas ad Basiliensem et Bernensem tradit. Francisco non dubito. *Merula.* Qu. *read* tradidisti Francisco.

§ Nusquam adorno. This is evidently an answer to a question, and relates to a collection of Epistles, which Gillis was preparing to edit for Erasmus. See the observations at the end of this letter.

the part of a friend. If you think fit, send Paul's Sentences hither by Francis, that we may entrust them to Bade,* from whom I have now received two letters. Also one from Budé, very prolix, but friendly.

I will soon let you see Dorpius's nonsense. I never saw a more unfriendly friend. Tunstall, after reading the stuff he wrote to me, so detests the man, that he can scarcely bear to hear his name. You may see what advantage he has gained. I have answered him, but protesting that I would not put myself to any further trouble about such rubbish. Tunstall has the highest opinion of you, and is charmed with your character. You are indeed a man of honour, thinking it right to deal liberally not only with honest people, according to the old formula, but with tailors and sailors too. You ought to have made a bargain with the sailor; he has asked now just as much as he chose. And then out of the Tournay cloth, with which we have lined the coat, no more than about five ells has come back to us, that is five out of twenty. But these are unimportant matters.

Cocles, or if he likes it better, Cyclops, has delivered a soiled Testament instead of a clean copy.†

If you have any reason for wishing to retreat hither, your coming will certainly be most welcome to me. But I do not want you to be put to any inconvenience on my account. For I am quite determined to remain here all the winter: not a moment away. If you are angry with your boy John, you must be angry with me, as I kept him here two days.

I have sold one of the horses so badly that I regard him as lost rather than sold. And the one that I gave to the Abbot of St. Bertin I think has been equally thrown away.

* Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius), the printer of Paris. I do not know what work is referred to.

† We know nothing further of this incident. The messenger, one-eyed Peter, was much employed by Erasmus. See pp. 268, 272, 298, 304.

Farewell, incomparable friend. Give my kindest greeting to your excellent parent and sweetest wife.

When a convenient courier * is available, please let me have the use of him.

Brussels, St. Luke's eve [17 Oct. 1516].

In the above letter, near the commencement, Erasmus gives Gillis some directions about a publication, which his correspondent was editing for him, and for which a preface was to be written. This was a collection of his recent most important correspondence, including his epistles to the Pope and to the Cardinals Grimani and Riario (Epistles 318, 319, 323), the epistles of Pope Leo X. to Erasmus and to King Henry VIII. (Epistles 328, 329), the latest Epistle of Erasmus to the Pope (Epistle 434), four letters forming the commencement of the correspondence with Budé (Epistles 391, 409, 422, 428), and some other letters,—twenty-one epistles in all. This collection was printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain, with the title, *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum ad Erasmum et huius ad illos*, and the date, 1516, *mense Octobri*. The dedicatory preface without date, EPISTLE 465, by which this publication was inscribed by Peter Gillis to Gaspar Halmal, is translated, among the Prefaces to the Collections of Erasmus's Epistles, in the Introduction to our former volume, p. lxxiv, and contains nothing which needs to be repeated here. The student of these epistles is naturally interested in the question, whether upon their publication any changes were admitted, to make them more attractive to the general reader. Upon this point we take note of Erasmus's declaration: nusquam adorno. See p. 406, note.

We have seen by Epistle 450, that Erasmus during his last stay in England had been on terms of acquaintance with the Venetian Envoy, Sebastian Giustiniani, to whom he sent a farewell letter by More (see p. 381), which has not survived. Epistle 466 is a long letter from Giustiniani to Erasmus, having no apparent object but that of enlisting the writer among his correspondents. The extracts given below are, first, the opening words; secondly, a paragraph throwing light upon the date of the letter, and containing an interesting reference to Archbishop Warham, which is followed in the original by a long

* Γραμματοφόρος.

passage conceived in the same spirit; and lastly the concluding sentence of the letter. The volume of Epistles which was in the writer's hands, was published at Louvain in October, 1516. See p. 408, and Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix. On the other hand it would seem, that, though a reader of serious and theological books (Epistle 450, p. 381) he had not yet seen Erasmus's edition of the Works of Jerome, as he supposes it to be dedicated to the Pope, according to the intention apparent in Epistles 318, 323, pp. 188, 203. See p. 247. With the exception of some presentation copies, this book had not been brought to England on the 20th of October, 1516 (see pp. 399, 411); and the present letter of Giustiniani may be conjectured to have been written about that time. It appears that it failed in some way to reach its destination; but upon the polite request of Erasmus a copy was afterwards forwarded to him. See Epistle 572. C. 1611C.

Epistle 466. Deventer MS.; C. 1661 (249).

Sebastian Giustiniani to Erasmus.

When you left us, my Erasmus, I thought you would not be long away; and I hoped at any rate that, if your absence was prolonged, you would fill up the gap by letters. But we now see, that while you cannot cure our ailment by your conversation, you are not disposed to do so by writing. * *

For ourselves, not having you to enjoy in person, we have recourse to your divine work on Adages; and we are now assiduously perusing some Epistles of yours to Pope Leo X. (to whom, you say, you have consecrated your fresh-born Jerome) and to some Cardinals, and lastly to your Mæcenas, the Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom you present us so careful a picture, so perfect a medal, that his name retains that value which your skill and genius stamp upon it. * * *

I cannot but grieve at the condition of the present times, in which you are not treated as becomes your worth, and light is not discerned from darkness. If I had my way, and if Fortune filled my sails, I would bring it to pass, that you

should not call the Archbishop your Mæcenas, but should yourself be called a Mæcenas by others. Farewell.

London [October, 1516].*

The following letter is the answer of Ammonius to Epistle 463, and written a fortnight after it. The writer, busy in the affairs of Erasmus as well as his own, presents the picture of a Renaissance scholar so immersed in business, that he cannot even read his Cicero twice in the month.

EPISTLE 467. Farrago, p. 225 ; Ep. viii. 31 ; C. 139 (163).

Ammonius to Erasmus.

I did indeed laugh, and that for joy, that you had found another Mæcenas over there, and that he should be the very person who, by general report, can do what he pleases with your Prince ; a fact which, except only on your account, cannot be to our liking. As for the bishopric,—supposing nothing else comes of it for the present,—it is certainly no small matter to see an intention of that kind on your behalf shown by persons of such importance.† I heartily congratulate you, being filled now with the confident hope, that Fortune will no longer be so grossly unfair to your genius, learning and virtues. If the Pope gives you this bishopric, I shall conclude that he has done it more out of regard to yourself than to the Prince's recommendation. But I am afraid he will be prevented from doing anything further by the confidence he will feel, that the Prince will remain constant in his intention with regard to you, and will soon have it in his power to appoint you to another bishopric. If he does not, I hope the Pope will himself request him to do so, as I know he will be very glad to see you promoted,

* Londino, Anno 1517. C.

† See p. 404.

but rather out of some one else's patronage than his own! I wrote to him * and to the bishop of Worcester not long after your departure.

I approve of your plan of wintering at Brussels,† both with a view to your escaping the annoyances of the Louvain schoolmen, and to your being seen frequently in the sunshine of your Court, where you may in person remind your friends of your existence, and catch the breath of favouring fortune. You will be able to be of use both to yourself and to your country, if you do not shrink from approaching nearer to your Jupiter. It will not occupy you long, and I think you ought to put up with some trouble, and trench a little on your studies, in order to provide for the comfort and dignity of the remainder of your life. There is a courtly sentiment for you!

If you let that wolf of yours alone, as in my judgment you may very safely do, a quite Euripidean end ‡ awaits him. He is ambitious of the reputation of having had a controversy with Erasmus. But you had better keep your nails off the sore; the more you scratch it, the more you will encourage it.

I am glad to hear that your Jerome has arrived, for I know he will shortly be brought over here. Please do not send a page of him to me. I am in no hurry for him, having so little leisure, that I cannot even read Cicero twice in the month.

Do you want some news? That Swiss Cardinal of Sion has come here. I have spoken to him, and he seems to me to be a clever, industrious, earnest, eloquent and energetic person, and a thorough theologian. Your friend More is

* Epistle 454.

† See Epistle 463, p. 405.

‡ Euripides is said to have been torn in pieces by the hounds of his friend and patron, Archelaus, king of Macedonia. I suspect that Ammonius alludes to the relations of Erasmus with Dorpius. See p. 405.

charmingly well. Take the trouble to commend me to Tunstall, with whom I am glad you are so intimate. I should think myself a happy mortal, if I were permitted to take part in your conversations. Farewell and take care of yourself.

Westminster, 20 October [1516].*

Epistle 468,—*Epist. s. q. eleg.* p. 135; Ep. i. 25; C. 1582 (98),—is a paper addressed by Adrian Baarland to his brother Cornelius, which is printed among the correspondence of Erasmus, and contains an account of all his published works which were known to the writer, who appears to have been a private-teacher in the University of Louvain. The epistle is dated from Louvain without date of month or year, and does not appear to have been written from beginning to end at the same date, but the following passage gives a near indication of the time at which it was completed. "Beside what I have set down, we may now find in the booksellers' shops *Epistolæ aliquot Erasmi ad illustres et horum ad illum;* and this year his annotations on the little book, which is commonly called *Cato*, have been twice printed." The *Epistolæ aliquot* were published at Louvain in October, 1516, and two editions of the *Cato* appear to have been printed by Schürer in the same year.

Budé's somewhat censorious letter of the 7th of July, Epistle 422, which, however, in Epistle 464, Erasmus had described to Gillis as very prolix but friendly, was left unanswered more than three months. Erasmus then wrote a long reply, from which some extracts are here given.

Epistle 469. Epist. s. q. elegantes, p. 40; Ep. i. 10; C. 212 (221).

Erasmus to Budé.

I was wonderfully delighted, most erudite Budé, with your last letter. It is not only learned, which, as it is a

* Ex Vuestmoñ. xiii. Cal. Novemb. *Farrago.* Anno m.d.xiiii. *Add. Opus Epist.*

constant quality in you, cannot be new to me, but also so overflowing with grace and wit and pleasantry, that no one could fail to be amused by reading it. We have here Cuthbert Tunstall, Master of the Rolls in England and Ambassador for his Sovereign with our Prince, a person not only learned in both languages, in which he has no equal among his countrymen, but also of the keenest judgment and most refined taste, and at the same time commended by an extraordinary modesty, and as a last attraction, by manners which are gay and cheerful without prejudice to gravity. I have the privilege of sharing his table, and so it comes to pass, that your letters frequently form part of our dessert. For it is scarcely possible to say, how much impressed Tunstall is with your erudition, which indeed is the admiration of every one except those who are not capable of understanding it. He takes his solemn oath, that no one of all the moderns has written Greek so cleverly or so elegantly as Budé, while at the time he does not deny that your Roman speech is not only most chaste and pure, but also copious and affluent.

I must now shortly reply to your letter, in doing which I have been disagreeably retarded, first by some small affairs at home and at court, and latterly by an attack of cold. You do indeed treat me in a friendly and unceremonious way, when you castigate me so severely for the careless handwriting of my letter.* The fact is, that, having a great deal to write, I have come to write a bad hand. How much more discreetly have you acted, when in practising a good hand you have also become a rapid writer! And yet I have something to say, partly in my own excuse, and partly to retort your accusation by bringing what they call a counter-charge. For consider, first, whether it was not rather inconsiderate in dealing with a person occupied in

* Epistle 422, pp. 300, 301.

composing bulky volumes, and who besides has sometimes twenty letters to write in one day, to require a neatly written letter, such as you might expect from a man of leisure. For if I set myself the task of copying out what I write, I am quite unequal to the burden ; and if I put it on others, five assistants would hardly be enough, whereas that wife of mine* about whom you jest very wittily, hardly lets me keep one, so imperiously does she reign in my house, a sovereign mistress rather than a wife. Then again, how much my draft, as you call it, may have worried you, I cannot tell, but this I know, that your own proper and correct letter has given me so much to do, that it had to be copied out from beginning to end by these fingers, in order that it might be read, first by us, and then by learned friends, as before that, I could scarcely read it myself, and the others not at all ! This inconvenience was not so much caused by any carelessness as by the peculiar character of your writing ; and will be easily remedied, if you will take the trouble to write frequently, as your hand will then become more familiar to us. * * *

As to our lucubrations, I am so far from finding any fault with your opinion of them, that I am pleased to find it agrees with my own. Only what you think of the *Copia*, *Lucian's Dialogues* and the little restoration of *Cato*, I consider may be also applied to all my other works. For however large may be the volume of Adages, what can be more humble than its subject ? And yet I fancy that I have treated it in such a way, as to surpass all previous writers whose records are extant. Then again, in theological literature, what function can be more humble than that which we have undertaken in our New Testament ? A much more ambitious subject would have cost us fewer sleepless nights.

* In a former letter Erasmus had called Poverty his wife.

But what is to be done, if I am born for these small details? For indeed I do not think I deserve so much to be blamed for undertaking this sort of subjects, as to be commended, because I weigh, in pursuance of Horace's precept,

> What load my back declines to bear,
> And what it may sustain,*

and have nothing to do with things that are beyond my strength. You perhaps may claim to be pardoned, if, blinded by partiality, you suppose I can do what I cannot. And I may even deserve some praise, when having taken my own measure, I close my door, being conscious how scanty is my furniture. As for the risk you point out, of my name being obscured by so many trifling books, this in very truth does not give me the slightest uneasiness. Whatever celebrity, rather than glory, my lucubrations have earned for me, I would willingly and most cheerfully set it aside, if I am allowed to do so. Different people find pleasure in different studies. Some are capable of one thing, some of another. All have not the same genius. It is my fancy to devote my thoughts to such commonplace matters, in which however I find less frivolity and more profit than in some subjects which their authors think so magnificent. Finally, he whose single aim it is, not to exhibit himself, but to do some good to others, is not concerned so much with the splendour of the matters in which he is engaged, as with their utility; and I shall not refuse any task even more despised than that despised little *Cato*, if I see that it will conduce to the promotion of honest study. Such things are written, not for a Persius or a Lælius, but for boys and blockheads.

* Quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri. Horat. *Epist. ad. Pisones*, 39.

Consider too, most learned Budé, how true is that saying of our Flaccus :

> Three guests will scarce agree in what is good,
> Each various palate craving different food.†

The *Copia* which we despise (for on this point we are certainly in the same lobby) has been extolled by a great many persons of no ordinary sort, who maintain that no work I have ever written is more clever or equally useful.

* * * *

I should be sorry, if you construed what I am saying as if I took offence with your letter, and did not rather find a pleasure in sharing the mirth and wisdom of a friend who is at the same time so witty and so learned. You think the title of my book (*Copia*) raises great expectations, and do not approve of its contents being a collection of commonplaces. I suppose you conceive, that they were taken from some hackneyed authorities, which any one might find without difficulty. But how will the case stand, if no one else has given any instructions at all about Copiousness? Fabius just touched on the subject in a few words. Trapezontius, the compiler of the remains of Hermogenes, promises copiously about Copiousness, but I have pursued his promises till my head ached, without ever finding anything on the subject that seemed of any importance. After the publication of my book, I met with something in Rodolphus Agricola, a man in whom, if a jealous fate had allowed him to live, Germany would have possessed a scholar to be matched with those of Italy, as France has one now in Budé, but only one. * * *

With respect to your interest in the cause of the humble

† Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Horat. *Epist.* ii. 2. 62.

writers, whose province you do not like to see invaded, you might use the same argument to deter us from writing anything at all. For if we undertake great subjects, we shall encroach upon great authors, if middle subjects, upon those of a middle class, and if the lowest subjects, upon writers of the lowest rank. But everybody knows, that the palm is set indifferently before all who practise the Muse's craft. After the publication of my *Copia*, it is still open for any one else to give instructions about Copiousness. It is praise enough for me, to have been either the first to produce anything on the subject, or to have done it more carefully and exactly than others, which I believe you will not yourself deny. * *

Nevertheless, encouraged by your letter, we shall perhaps venture upon something more ambitious. I trust it may succeed as well as you seem to expect. Non cuivis homini.† We are not all Budés. I am not one of those people, who find nothing right but what they do themselves; I look with respect upon your accuracy and diligence, and upon that elevation of mind, which shews itself in your arguments, and in your very phraseology. Such subjects are rightly undertaken by Budé, within whose capacity it lies, out of one Roman coin to produce, in such abundance and in such excellence, the current money of instruction;‡ they are suitable to one, who with the general applause of France meets the Italians in single combat, and whose rivalry is with Hermolaus or with Pliny; and finally this magnanimity becomes a Frenchman better than a Dutchman, a Budé than an Erasmus. * * *

Jesting apart, my poverty does not so much distress me. Otherwise I might long ago have increased my fortune, if I had not been always disposed to prefer an independent

† Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρός. The proverb concludes: εἰς Κόρινθόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. iv. Prov. 1. Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum. Horat. *Epist.* I. xvii. 36.

‡ Ex Asse τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τῆς παιδείας τάλαντα depromere.

position to one of grandeur And my Mæcenas of Canterbury is good enough to supply as much as is sufficient to secure my leisure and content my mind. Neither is it in pursuit of preferment that I attend the Court of my own most gracious Prince ; but I thought it scarcely civil to refuse, first to such a sovereign, and secondly to the solicitation of my country, this attention, whatever it may be worth. * * *

As to your banter about the risk I run of losing my love of letters in the event of my being decorated with gold, I assure you that you may sleep without the smallest anxiety on that score. These are not the times, nor is the present condition of our Court such, as to provide gilding for those who seek promotion as I do, that is, who all but run away from it. Up to this time we are spending our money and our pains, but not a particle of gold has been provided for my decoration. Nevertheless, supposing that nothing more comes of it, I already feel myself infinitely obliged both to our excellent prince Charles, and to John le Sauvage, Chancellor of Burgundy, a man in whose character no virtue is wanting, and who supplies our country with a noble personality, such as France formerly possessed in Guy de Rochefort,† upon whom your eulogy alone is sufficient to confer immortality.

I trust that your threatened illness may come to nothing, as in my opinion you deserve to attain the age of Tithonus, with your health improving, as your years advance ; this is an experience, of which I have observed many instances. At our own door,—not to speak of frequent, indeed perpetual, delicacy of health,—there is another visitor knocking, pitiless age, a disease that is natural, and therefore incurable.

Your whole letter is full of merriment. This I observe with no little pleasure, as evidence that the writer was not only free from sickness, but alert and in good spirits. You are

† Guy de Rochefort,—younger brother of William de Rochefort, Chancellor of France, who died in 1492,—was himself Chancellor in 1497. He died 15 Jan. 1507. *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle.*

fortunate in being able to enjoy your literary work in this fashion. But there is no ground, upon which you seem to me to be more playful than where you wish to appear serious! You say you cannot be made to believe, that I read your books, unless some mention of you has arisen in conversation, and one of my friends has read a passage aloud. Do you think me so fastidious as to object to the perusal of such learned works, or so unkind (I will not suggest the idea of jealousy) as not to be delighted with the lucubrations of such a friend? Indeed, to put you in possession of the facts, there is not a single one of your studies, which is not among the principal authorities contained in my library. Your annotations on the Pandects, and the *De Asse*, I regard as oracles, to which I am used to have recourse, if I meet with a difficulty, in which I cannot get any help from those hackneyed authorities. And in very truth I am neither loth nor ashamed to cite the testimony of Budé in company with the great writers that have been already approved and consecrated by age. Why indeed should we grudge this honour to the living, provided they deserve it? Why not concede that to Learning, which is attributed to Time by the crowd of people, that run to their Calendars, as Flaccus says, and reckon merit by years? *

I have read over again the passages to which you refer, though I had already read them with some care. By the first you have placed Literature and her candidates, whose cause you so earnestly plead, under no slight obligation. What you write is true as truth can be. No country is incapable of producing men of talent and learning, provided there are persons ready to cherish and encourage them. But those by whose discretion the affairs of mortals are conducted, have a special aversion for these studies without which we are scarcely human. At the end of your work

* Qui redit ad fastos et virtutem aestimat annis. Horat. *Epist.* ii. 1. 48.

you philosophize admirably with your Deloin, whom I have long known by Colet's praise, and more lately by meeting him, first at Orleans and afterwards at Paris.† But here too, Good Heavens, with how much vehemence and freedom have you inveighed and thundered against the Priests of the present day ! ‡

But what a jest it is, when you ask me to pronounce judgment upon your genius, as if I were capable even of keeping pace with those rare and almost divine endowments of mind ! On the merits of Budé an opinion has been long since pronounced by the general consent of men of learning. As I read your works, I seem to see before me some householder of enormous wealth,—not like Lucullus, whose house was full of objects, of which their owner knew nothing, and which, as Horace says, might be good for thieves,§—but one whose treasures are well known to himself and are all arranged in their proper places, and all within reach. This is partly due to those careful indexes, which you have long ago made to all your books, and partly,—indeed chiefly,—to that happy memory, more trustworthy than any index, by which I observe it sometimes happens that you are almost overwhelmed with the abundance of material that offers itself on every side, and scarcely permits you to take your hand from off the picture. * * * *

Your entire devotion to your own country will be praised by many, and will be readily excused by all ; although it is in my opinion more philosophical to put our relations with things and men upon such a footing, as to treat the world as

† The reader is further introduced to Deloin by Epistle 484.

‡ *καταβακχεύσας καὶ ἀστράψας εἰς τοὺς ἱερέας τοὺς νῦν.* I have given these Greek words as they are printed in *Epist. s. q. eleg.* and in later collections,—perhaps as Erasmus wrote them. The verbs, if my Greek grammar is right, should have been *κατεβάκχευσας καὶ ἤστραψας.*

§ Exilis domus est, ubi non et multa supersunt,
Et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.

Horat. Epist. I. vi. 45.

the common country of us all, even if we admit that the fairest district of Christendom is France. * * *

It may occur to some, that while you so often launch into most learned and charming digressions, and devote some little time to their discussion, a less indulgent reader may say to himself,—all this is very fine writing, but, to use the old phrase, what has it to do with Dionysus?† How does it come under the head *de Asse?* * * *

I have long been conscious, how presumptuous I am in passing judgment upon your genius, which occupies a place beyond reach of censure. But what could I do? It is Budé's order; and I have thought it the less offence, to play the fool, than to refuse compliance. What I have said does not imply, that I fail to find in your writings any accomplishment of genius, or find fault with anything amiss. I should be wanting in civility, if in so fair a form I took offence at any trifling blemish; and Budé is so dear to me, that if there were any blemish in him, it would in my eyes appear a charm. On the other hand I am not so blinded by my love, as to doubt the truth of my own observation, that France has never yet produced anything which can rival the monuments of your genius; and still, after leaving all others behind, you are daily surpassing yourself.

Farewell. May the best of fortune attend you as a builder; and may your kind wishes be fulfilled, so that you may have cause some time to congratulate me on my gilding,‡ while I congratulate you as a Lucullus.

Brussels, 28 October, 1516.§

The above partial translation gives a faint and imperfect impression, how the writer in some parts of his letter mingles an ironical censure with the language of compliment.

† *τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον.* ‡ See pp. 284, 302.

§ Bruxellæ quinto Calen. Nouem. Anno M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

Epistle 470, apparently written early in October, 1516,* is the third letter of More addressed to Erasmus since the departure of the latter from England towards the end of August in that year; see pp. 372, 381, 393. More had not yet received Erasmus's letter dated at Antwerp on the 2nd of October (Epistle 461), but he had received an earlier letter written at Calais (towards the end of August, see pp. 372, 375), which has not been preserved. The Provost of Cassel was at this period the envoy of the Burgundian Court in London, but appears to have been lately for some days at Brussels.† The *Utopia*, which had been placed three or four weeks before in the hands of Erasmus (see p. 381), was soon after consigned to the printer, Thierry Martens of Louvain. See Epistle 477. The magnificent recommendation, anticipated in the following letter, consisted of a letter of Peter Gillis to Jerome Busleiden, dated 1 Nov. 1516, a letter of Joannes Paludanus to Peter Gillis, a letter of Busleiden to More, and some verses by Paludanus, Noviomagus, and Cornelius Grapheus.

Epistle 470. Deventer MS.; C. 1664 (251).

More to Erasmus.

I have received your letter written at Calais, by which I gather that you had a favourable crossing; and the Provost of Cassel has reported to me, that you had arrived safe at Brussels before he left home; for he is now here on a diplomatic mission. Maruffo met me not long ago with the cry, that, by some mistake or other, your money had been paid to his damage. I lately sent you from the Archbishop another bill of his for twenty Pounds English, in the cashing of which I hope you will have the like fortune, if you act promptly before he gives warning to his agents, for this is what he seems to intend to do. The bearer of this letter will pay to Gillis the twenty Pounds you left with me, that is to say thirty of your Pounds for twenty Pounds English.‡

* This letter ought to have been noticed at an earlier place in the present chapter, and placed before Epistle 464, p. 406.

† Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 2303, 2331, 2484.

‡ See pp. 382, 393, 420.

I spoke not long ago to Ursewick about your horse, and he said he would take care that you had one before long, but that he had not yet any such as he would like to send to you.

I sent you the *Nowhere* some time ago ;* and am glad to think it will soon come out in a handsome form, with a magnificent recommendation ; and that, if possible by many, not only men of letters, but also of political celebrity, principally on account of one person (whose name I suppress, but I think it will occur to you) who, from some feeling or other which I leave you to guess, is sorry to see it published without the prescribed nine years' delay.† These matters you will arrange as you think most to my advantage ; but I long to know whether you have shown it to Tunstall, or have at any rate described it to him, as I think you have done. This I prefer, as his pleasure will be doubled ; the thing will appear more elegant in your narration than in my description, and you will save him the trouble of reading it ! Farewell.

London, [October, 1516.] ‡

When the above note was written, More was hoping to see Ursewick again, and to report to Erasmus in a few days the result of his interview.

With the following letter, we resume the chronological sequence, which has been interrupted by the introduction of Epistle 470 in a place somewhat later than that due to its probable date. Epistle 471, written some three weeks later, is principally occupied with the interests of Erasmus, but contains in the latter part some further anticipations of the forthcoming *Utopia,* still called *Nusquama* by its author. The name, which was to become so famous, appears to have been adopted when the work was already in the printer's hands.

* Misi ad te iampridem Nusquamam. See pp. 381, 422, 431.

† Horatii *Epist. ad Pisones,* 388.

‡ Londino, Anno 1517. C.

Epistle 471. Deventer; C. 1574 (87).

More to Erasmus.

I am rather late in writing again, because I wanted to write something certain about the horse that Ursewick promised you, but even now I am not able to do so, because he has betaken himself to some parsonage that he has * several miles from town, and has not yet returned. When he comes back, which I daily expect, the matter shall be attended to.

I have no doubt that the money which was in my hands has been paid to Gillis,† as I have received a letter from my agent written at Antwerp, in which he says he was going to pay it immediately.

I cannot charge my present messenger with those letters, which you sent me from Basel to read, but will send them shortly, when I have got someone whom I can load with a large parcel.‡

Bedill has shown me a letter from the Bishop of Basel to him of Canterbury, and also that by which the Archbishop replied, both autograph, and the latter only too much so, as it was so erased and interlined, that it could not be read at all unless by him that wrote it, and I am not sure it could even by him. Your letter and also mine, in which we tried to persuade Latimer to live a month or two with the Bishop of Rochester, came to him too late, as he had determined to go to Oxford, and could not by any means be induced to put off his plan for the time. You know how philosophers of that kind treat their own arrangements as immutable

* in curiam quandem suam: to some cure, or parsonage, that he has. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *Curia*.

† See pp. 382, 393.

‡ See Epistle 486, p. 442.

laws, I suppose from a love of consistency. He is delighted with your version of the New Testament, in which however he thinks you have been more scrupulous than he would wish. He does not like your having left the word Sabbath, and some others of the kind, which you either did not think it expedient or did not venture to alter, whereas he does not admit any expression at all, which would be strange to Roman ears. I approved his judgment so far as the Hebrew rites and practices would admit. For the rest I advised him to send you a list of the words which he would like to have differently translated, with his judgment about them, and this I think he will do. I am sure you will be pleased with the interest he takes in the matter.

But there are others among us, my dearest Erasmus, who have conspired to read your writings in a different spirit, and whose formidable intentions make me uneasy. Do not therefore be in a hurry to republish what you have already published, since it is high time to think the matter over.* At any rate, with the utmost confidence, and with all the anxiety which I feel on your behalf, I do beg and beseech you to lose no time in revising and correcting the whole, so as to leave the smallest possible room for calumny anywhere, for which some very shrewd persons are not only determined to find out every occasion, but will seize it with pleasure and avidity. Who, you will say, are those persons? I am really afraid to name them, lest your spirit should be cowed by the fear of such powerful enemies. I will say however by way of caution, that that great Franciscan theologian whom you know, and of whom you made honourable mention in the edition of Jerome, has entered into a plot with the choicest persons of the same Order and the same sort, and agreed to write against your errors, if he can find any. And to enable them more easily and effectually

* Itaque ne properes edere quæ nunc edidisti, quoniam serum est consulere.

to do this, they have conspired to divide your works among them, and when they have read them all with great care,—not to understand one word of them! You see now with what a serious embarrassment you are threatened, and in proportion to the greatness of the peril you must get your own forces in readiness. They did in fact, Erasmus, so resolve in their cups at one evening session; but next day, I hear, when they had slept off their flagon, they seem to have forgotten their proposal and wiped out the decree, which had been written down in wine. They gave up the attempt, and instead of reading, betook themselves again to begging, which they had found by experience a far more profitable trade.

It is worth seeing, how delighted every body is with the Epistles of Obscure Men,* the learned in jest and the unlearned in earnest. When we laugh, they think that it is only at the style, which they do not defend, but say it is compensated by the weight of the sentiments, and that a rude sheath conceals a handsome blade. I only wish the book had a different title; it might have been a hundred years before the dunces were conscious that the author was turning up his nose at them, even if it had been bigger than the snout of a rhinoceros.

I am glad that my Peter approves our *Nusquama*. If it is liked by such persons, I shall begin to like it myself. I want to know, whether Tunstall approves, and Busleiden, and your Chancellor, though I can hardly expect that it should be approved by those who are so fortunate as to be the principal officers in their own commonwealths, unless they may be attracted by the idea that, in this Commonwealth of ours, persons of their sort, so eminent in letters and in virtue, would be simply princes, in authority and power.

* The *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, probably mainly attributable to Hutten, appears to have been first printed at Hagenau in 1515.

For to such men I do not believe that it would be a grievance, not to have under them a number of dependents and *subjects*, as kings now call the people, that is to say, worse than slaves; since it is much more honorable to rule over free men; and persons so excellent would be far removed from that jealous feeling, which makes people wish ill to others, while they are well off themselves. I have some hope therefore, that they too will like our work, and that is what I earnestly desire; but if their own good fortune has quite fixed in their minds a contrary persuasion, your vote alone will be abundantly sufficient for my judgment. We two are to my mind a multitude, as I think I could live happily with you in any solitude.

Farewell, sweetest Erasmus, dearer to me than my eyes!

I have obtained a more favorable letter from Maruffo. I thought this both speedier and wiser than to trouble the Archbishop again about the matter. Not that he would be unwilling to listen to anything that concerns you; but I prefer to go to him for something more important.

London, in haste before daylight, All Saints' eve (31 Oct.) 1516.*

It should be noted, before proceeding to the next chapter, that a revision of the numeration of the letters has led to the omission of two numbers at this point, This chapter ends with Epistle 471; the next begins with Epistle 474.

* Pridie omnium divorum. *Deventer MS.;* Anno 1516. *add. in MS.;* 31 Octobris, Anno 1516. C.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Continued Residence at Brussels. Correspondence with Ammonius, Budé, More, Watson and others. Publication of the Utopia. November, 1516, *to January,* 1517. *Epistles* 474 *to* 498.

During the period included in the present Chapter Erasmus continued to reside at Brussels.

In the following epistle, as, in other letters passing between the same correspondents, Greek words or phrases are frequently used, either out of mere caprice, or to conceal the meaning from a surreptitious reader. The Pope is ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, the Archbishop of Canterbury ὁ Καντουάριος. At that time in Western Europe, out of a thousand persons who read Latin, there were perhaps only three or four who could read Greek. As a general rule, it would be irksome to indicate every such change of language in translation; but in the following short letter, by way of example, the Greek words are represented by italic type.

EPISTLE 474. Farrago, p. 226; Ep. viii. 32; C. 133 (151).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I have no kind wishes for *the Pope's* retirement, as it has put off my hope of felicity. Believe me, dear Ammonius, *we have cast our sheet anchor, and thrown our last die:* and if it does not turn out as we wish, *all is over.* If it succeeds, I shall owe everything to your kindness and that of the bishop of Worcester; if it fails, I shall recognise in it my own ill-luck, which I know too well.

You advise me to approach nearer to Jupiter. I will do my best, especially when my wakeful ear has heard any certain oracle from the quarter where my fortune is in suspense. You know how lazy I am, especially in such matters. But if you think I ought to do anything to gratify my lord of Worcester, pray give me a hint. Also, do not doubt *about the money;** even if *Canterbury* failed me, there are persons here from whom I could obtain it by merely holding up my finger.

Just at present there is a great battue going on here of all kinds of preferment; but *I am now helpless.* It annoys me to find that Italians, Spaniards, Swedes, or Danes have more sympathy for me than my own countrymen, a hungry race, with no object but self-indulgence. To the Chancellor I owe a great deal; and not only I, but the whole country.

You have good reason to congratulate me on my intimacy with Tunstall. I have never met with anyone more friendly. I read to him that longer letter of yours, and he was much delighted with your genius. He seemed to be a little jealous of me, because you had written to him in so *laconic a fashion;* but when I pleaded your occupations as an excuse, he readily accepted it.

I had already left *the Wolf* alone; and I never paid any attention to the *carping* Carmelite.† Nevertheless, he too will be received, as you say, by the hounds as he deserves.

The volumes of Jerome are sold out already here; and Francis declares that he might have gained two thousand florins, if he had imported a greater number of copies.‡

* The bishop of Worcester was the English minister at Rome; and the money was no doubt that required for the suit of Erasmus at that court.

† For the wolf, see Epistle 467, p. 411. The Carmelite, here styled Carmelita *βλάσφημος*, is mentioned in Epistle 450, as having intercepted a copy of the New Testament intended for Giustiniani.

‡ Francis appears to have been employed to sell some copies of Jerome for Erasmus. See pp. 384, 435.

What is it I hear? Do I die and come to life again so often at Rome? What Virbius † or Theseus had ever such a power? But I shall think I have really come to life at last, if we succeed in what we are about. Pray, my Ammonius, *do as you are doing*, and be my Æsculapius. Farewell.

Brussels, 9 Nov. 1516.‡

On the same 9th of November, 1516, Jerome Busleiden wrote to Erasmus from Mechlin, EPISTLE 475, C. 1575 (88),—inclosing in his note, with apologies for its imperfections, an Epistle written at Erasmus's request, which may be presumed to be the commendatory Epistle prefixed to the first edition of the *Utopia*, which appears to have been in the press at Louvain in November and December of this year, with,—among other prefatory matters,—an Epistle of Busleiden to More. See p. 422.

From the earlier part of Epistle 476, addressed to Erasmus from Louvain by Alard of Amsterdam on the 11th of November, 1516, we gather that the writer, a clergyman having some preferment at Amsterdam, was ambitious of the honours of authorship, and had sent some poems to the Press. In the second half of his letter he gives an account of a valuable private library, which appears to have once belonged to Rodolphus Agricola, and to have been then in the possession of a merchant of Friesland, named Pompeius Occo. The first clause of the following extract relates to this library and its possessor.

EPISTLE 476. Deventer MS.; C. 1575 (89).

Alardus Amstelredamus to Erasmus.

* * *

His intention is to dispose of all the books without exception. I have not yet got the list; but I know for

† Virbius was a mythical personage restored to life by Æsculapius.

‡ Bruxellæ quinto idus Nouemb. Anno M.D.XVI. *Farrago.*

certain, that more than a thousand volumes are rotting at his house, and are being eaten away by moths. They are old books of the choicest kind; if you light upon them, you certainly will not cry out, that you have found what the boys found in the bean.† The man who keeps this collection so negligently and in such secrecy, has scarcely thumbed his Æsop. His house at Amsterdam is called the Paradise; and I have written to get a catalogue for you. By the first of January, I shall remove to Amsterdam myself, to take my duty there; and if the catalogue has not been sent, I will then see to it, and bring you what you ask for out of it, whatever the price may be.

Dorpius still persists in his heresy,—you know what. The Muses and the Muses' friends he lauds and loves at home, but has no kindness for them beyond his own threshold. * *

Farewell, Erasmus, dearest of all mortals.

Louvain, 11 November, 1516.

It appears from the last clause, that Alard was one of those kind neighbours of Dorpius, who were not disposed to assist in smoothing over the distrust which had arisen between him and Erasmus. The writer of the next epistle, also from Louvain, was actuated by a more friendly feeling. Gerardus Noviomagus (Gerard of Nimeguen) appears to have made arrangements for the printing of the *Utopia* (called at last by this name) at Louvain by Thierry Martens, of whose press he probably acted as a corrector. See Epistle 470.

Epistle 477. Deventer MS.; C. 1577 (91).

Gerardus Noviomagus to Erasmus.

Our Thierry has willingly and joyfully undertaken the printing of *Utopia*. Paludanus will show you the figure of the

† I cannot explain the origin of this phrase. It is not, I think, in the Adages.

Island itself, drawn by an excellent artist.† If you want anything altered, write, or make a note on the drawing.

I will carefully keep the copies of your Epistles, till you come here; or, if you want them sent to you, they shall be sent at once. And I will take great care that the *Utopia* shall be produced in a handsome form, so that there may be nothing to interfere with the pleasure of the reader.

Dorpius is anxious that you should come here, and if you delay your coming, is determined to go to you. He solemnly swears, that he has never shown your letters or his own to any but one or two persons, and has not spread any story about your works among the theologians, but casts the blame on I know not whom. I hope it will come to this, that Dorpius will in future acquiesce in any laudable plans of Erasmus. * * *

Dorpius has shown me a pamphlet of Pfeffercorn, written against the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, in which he shows, that there are Bohemian heresies lurking in them! What is to become of us, if in reproving such trifles, theologians are not content to be mute watch-dogs, but must bark as loud as they can. It would be better to treat such a matter with silent contempt, than to increase the mischief by endless writing and argument.

Louvain, 12 Nov. 1516.

The following epistle is an answer of lord Mountjoy to a letter of Erasmus (not preserved), in which he had informed his friend of the publication of his labours upon Jerome. Mountjoy is buying one of Erasmus's copies of Jerome, and has received, as a present, the *Epistolæ aliquot*, lately published. See pp. 384, 429, 433.

† Figuram a quodam egregio pictore effictam. The first edition of the *Utopia*, printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain in November, 1516 (of which there is a copy in the British Museum), has at the beginning a sort of bird-eye view, or picture-map, of the Island of Utopia, somewhat rudely drawn, from which the Basel edition of 1518, which is also in the British Museum, has a charming reproduction, probably corrected by the hand of Holbein.

EPISTLE 478. Deventer MS.; C. 1576 (90).

Lord Mountjoy to Erasmus.

I have received your letter, and am glad to hear of the Jerome being completed. As to its being dear, I am quite sure that the Lucubrations of Erasmus cannot be sold for so much as they are worth. I have therefore made up my mind, as soon as I know what the price is, to send for it, either to Peter Gillis or to you.

I think it was an excellent plan of yours, to move to Brussels for the winter, both because you will be able to complete your arrangements with your Prince, and because you will see more of so friendly and learned a person as Tunstall. I hope all things are going on well about your prebend. As to the Bishopric, I think you are wise in refusing it, as it is rather far off, and is considered a poor one. It would be, as you wittily say, a burden without support, and rather an *onus* than an honor.

The Epistles which you sent me have come to hand, and have given me much pleasure; for I have read several, though I have not yet gone through the whole volume. Thank you for sending them.

I have explained to John Desmoulins about the Jerome, and he was not displeased with the message. Farewell, and love me as you do; and if you do not intend to come to Tournay this winter, at any rate do not grudge to visit us with your letters. Farewell again.

Pray commend me to the honourable lord Chancellor.*

Tournay, 12 Nov. 1516.

John Desmoulins was one of the dignitaries of Tournay Cathedral, and a friend of Erasmus. Tunstall, as Master of the Rolls, had the title of Vice-Chancellor, and may sometimes in careless diction have

* Honorando viro D. Cancellario me commendatum habeas.

been called Chancellor (see pp. 296, 297); but the *dominus Cancellarius* intended in the last sentence was probably the Chancellor of Burgundy, as Erasmus was now at Brussels.

By a letter dated at Basel, the same 12th of November, 1516, EPISTLE 479,—*Epistolæ s. q. elegantes*, p. 152; Ep. i. 32; C. 215 (223),—Lewis Baer, the Dean of the University of Basel (see p. 387), thanks Erasmus for a letter, and congratulates him on his position at his Prince's Court, and on the canonry lately offered to him: Erasmus does not, and will not, want most learned and excellent friends, although indeed he is his own best patron. Baer has delivered his correspondent's letter, with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Basel; and has communicated to common friends the copies of the other epistles sent to him by his correspondent.

The next letter in our Register, EPISTLE 480,—*Epistolæ s. q. elegantes*, p. 125; Ep. i. 20; C. 217 (224),—is one of Lewis Canossa, Bishop of Bayeux, to Erasmus, dated the 13th of November, 1516, from Amboise, one of the residences of the French King. The writer, being the Papal Nuncio at the Court of France, has been appointed, by the Most Christian King, Bishop of Bayeux. He writes to inform Erasmus of his fortune, and invites him to come and live with him, promising a generous welcome, and an annual pension of two hundred ducats, beside the maintenance of himself and servant and two horses, until he shall have made a better provision for him by church patronage. The answer, in which Erasmus returns thanks for this invitation, is dated on the 24th February, 1517. Epistle 520.

Henry Glarean, the young Swiss scholar, one of whose letters Epistle 453, written some two months before, was included in the collection published under the sanction of Erasmus with the title *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, writes another letter to Erasmus, dated from Basel, the 13th of November, 1516, EPISTLE 481,—Deventer MS. C. 1577 (92),—which may be regarded as a postscript to his former letter. It is characteristic of Erasmus's interest in all about him, and especially in young people, that Glarean's four pupils, 'all most attached to Erasmus,' send their salutations to him.

We have seen in Epistle 464, that Erasmus had given to Peter Gillis a commission to get a copy of Jerome's works conveniently arranged

in six parts for the purpose of annotation. This was on the 17th of October. See p. 406. A month later, Erasmus is growing impatient for the text which is being prepared for his use. Meantime the news received from England is not cheerful, his messenger, one-eyed Peter, having apparently fallen into the hands of highwaymen. The *Utopia* is in the press at Louvain. See p. 431.

EPISTLE 482. Farrago, p. 194; Ep. vii. 33; C. 357 (344).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

Good Heavens, what curses shall I imprecate upon your pleaders for adjournment? If the Jerome is not in trim, do spur on those laggards in every way. If it is done, get it sent me as soon as possible.

It may be Peter *Cocles* is laid up; for I hear he was not only robbed, but injured in the back. If so, I am sorry for the poor fellow; and I have already written to Colet to look after him. Tunstall is also heartily sorry.

I do not want you to be called here, if it is inconvenient to you; but if you have any occasion to come, you will be welcomed by Tunstall. In that case you will bring with you the silver and take back gold. Francis pays, as he says, but does not admit that he made himself responsible for Peter.* I have received a bill from Maruffo, in which he has reckoned the ducats at a somewhat higher rate.

The *Utopia* is in the printer's hands.

Farewell, with your amiable wife. Be sure and give my greetings to your excellent father.

Brussels, 18 Nov. [1516].†

* Probably the Courier, one-eyed Peter, mentioned above. Francis had been selling some books for Erasmus; see p. 429; and Peter had probably been employed in their distribution.

† Bruxellæ XIIII. Cal. Decembres. *Farrago.* Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo octavo. *Opus. Epist.*

Our next letter is one of the long and learned epistles, passing between Budé and Erasmus, of which several paragraphs are in Greek. It appears to have been conveyed from Paris to Brussels by some foreign gentlemen, who were proceeding from the French to the Flemish Court, for whom it was to serve as an introduction to Erasmus. In the short extracts from this lengthy composition here put before the reader, the parts which are Greek in the original are, as in Epistle 474, distinguished by italic type. The first extract is from the beginning of the epistle; the second is from a later passage, in which Budé meets an observation made in Epistle 469, but not included in our translation. In the clauses here translated from the later part of the letter, the Greek language is not used.

EPISTLE 483. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 53; Ep. i. 11; C. 204 (220).

Budé to Erasmus.

I have returned several times to your letter, and have received a variety of impressions from it. *At one time, having regard to your ability and to the excessive daintiness* of your own language, I think that you are making game of me in the politest way.* I have not so absurdly high an opinion of myself, as to fail to recognise my own mediocrity, which you are placing among minds of the highest note. *At another time again, taking account of the kindness of your character, as it appears in your writings, I receive the letter, not as written in sport, but in earnest.* In this alternation of opinion, I have thought it better to meet a theologian *in simple trust*, rather than seem to deserve ill of you, and of friendship itself, by any suspicion. *Indeed I might well be afraid of betraying some baseness in my own character, if I failed to give credence to you, when you write as a friend, and almost put yourself on your oath.* I am therefore firmly

* κομψότητα περιττήν.

resolved so to believe, and to take it for granted, that you have written in good faith.

Accordingly I am delighted to receive the testimony in my favour, especially as to Greek scholarship, volunteered, in common with yourself, by the English king's legate, Cuthbert Tunstall, a man, as you have assured me, deserving of the highest praise for his eminent and agreeable knowledge of both tongues.* Relying on the authority of you both, I so far overrule my own judgment, as to venture to write some lines in that language, *putting myself forsooth,—the late-taught, the chance-educated,—on the same level with the most famous of the new generation, who have been taught in childhood.* This in writing to you I do most willingly and gladly, *trusting to the indulgence of a person whose character stands so high.* For I am resolved to declare myself in full confidence to you, so that one, who has hitherto,—I regret to say,—had only himself for an instructor and prælector in both tongues,† may now at this late hour be benefited by your censure. If at any time I find you at leisure, I will ply you with frequent letters, until you are weary of them.

* * * * *

You wish me to pursue in my writings a more restrained treatment, and judge me to err, not by my matter but by exuberance. I admit the charge. I do not draw with scrupulous accuracy from a copious purse. You have not only a purse better filled ; you have also become frugal, not by nature, but by the circumspection that comes with years ; and your theological profession renders you every day more concise ; indeed I believe it so removes all those incentives of ambition, that by this time you are not a slave to

* eximia et amœna utriusque linguæ peritia. See p. 413.

† ut qui antehac in utraque lingua præceptore me tantum ac prælectore usus sum *etc.*

fame or the estimation of others, provided only you can do them good all round. This is the belief, which,—not to leave any commands of yours unfulfilled,—I have schooled myself to entertain ; although I judge, that you do not so badly hate that wife of yours, Poverty, as you devotedly love her rival, Glory, and that not without reason, as she pursues you like your shadow, wherever you go.

You make a subtle point in your letter, where you say, that if you undertake great subjects, you interfere with the greater authors, if those of a middle class, with authors of that order. But what, if there are some subjects with which you alone can fitly deal ? Suppose that, while you spend your pains upon less important matters, something (which may the gods avert) should happen to you,—who in that case is to make up the loss to the world ?

* * * * *

Some months ago, when I was visiting my house in the country, I met James Lefèvre,† who begged me to give you his salutation, and make his excuses to you for not writing, on the score of ill health. He was so ill,—and is so to-day (for he has sent a friend to-day to see me),—that he cannot even dictate a letter ; you know the man to be not only learned, but honest.

* * * * *

On the afternoon of the day on which the above was written, Bade sent two gentlemen to me, one a Neapolitan, and the other a Spaniard ; if I remembered their names, I would write them here. They said they were induced by a love of Letters to come and see me ; and I promised to

† Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, James Lefèvre of Étaples, with whom Erasmus had had some intercourse at Paris, and was before many months to be in conflict upon the interpretation of some passages in the New Testament. Erasmi *Opera*, ix. 18, 67.

give them a letter to you, as I understood they longed to see you. I had then this letter in draft, and have had to copy it out again on clean paper, and consequently (as they said they were going tomorrow) to do all this writing after supper, in spite of my excessive liability to headache.* If therefore this letter reaches you, let me know as soon as possible,—that I may not regret my labour as lost,—and do the like for our friend Deloin, who quite late at night has sent me a letter, which was waiting for a messenger. Farewell.

I have some brief notes on the New Testament, which I was keeping to be inserted with the notes on the Pandects, which I propose some day to edit. But after you, I shall not utter a word, that I may not convict myself of absurdity, as if, after Homer, I undertook to write the wanderings of Ulysses. If my notes will be of use to you, they shall be sent you, so that they may not be thrown away.

Let me know in future, where you are to be.

Paris [26 November 1516].

The above letter in *Epistolæ s. q. elegantes*, where it was originally published, has the date, Parisijs vi. Calend. Novembres; but this is apparently wrong, as the letter is written in answer to Epistle 470, itself dated in the same book, quinto Calendas Novembres, which date there appears to be no reason to reject. It seems not improbable, that we may hit the right date, if we place it (as has been done above) a month later, substituting the word *Decembres* for *Novembres*, upon the assumption of a mistake which might easily occur in transcription.

Francis Deloin, a learned nobleman attached to the French Court, who was a patron of Letters and a friend of Budé, C. 173 F, 247 E, appears to have had an old acquaintance with Colet as a student at Orleans. Nicolas Bérauld of Orleans, who adds a Postscript to Deloin's letter, published in 1516 an edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*.

* homo scilicet gravedinosus ut si quis unquam.

EPISTLE 484. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 103; Ep. i. 13; C. 181 (201).

Francis Deloin to Erasmus.

You will perhaps wonder, most learned Erasmus, what has induced me, a person neither gifted with facility of speech, nor associated with you by old acquintance, to write to you without invitation. But your surprise will soon cease, if you have not forgotten the letter you wrote not long ago to Budé, in which you assert that I am known to you both by Colet's commendation and in other ways.† Although your letter was agreeable to me, both as coming from you and as written to Budé, I must confess, that what charmed me most in it, was your kind and friendly mention of Deloin. Though Budé has long claimed that person as his own, he is not so selfish, as to grudge to share him, or any other friend, with you.

I cannot but regard your friend Colet with the greatest affection;—a man illustrious for his learning and for the sanctity of his life, who, as you say in your letter, has told you of the companionship of no ordinary kind, which we had together when we were students at Orleans. Such is his kind feeling for all, that he still values our friendship; so constantly has he guarded it, that he spoke of it to you as if it had been quite recent, and not obliterated by any interval of time or place; far different from those, who attracted by new associations, despise or neglect old friends. * * * *

Your Chiliads of *Adages*, *Praise of Folly*, *Christian Knight*, *New Instrument*, we have entirely, as far as our occupations permitted, perused; and the works of Jerome are in hand, a laborious task, which was reserved for the strength of a Hercules, that is, of an Erasmus; in which

† See p. 418.

I seem to see Jerome himself by your care and diligence come back to light, and anticipate the promised day of Resurrection. * * * * *

Do not cease, my Erasmus, your services to Literature, to Theology, to Christian philosophy, and the cause of the Church, in which we are all concerned. And as in this you will always have the support of Budé, so you will find in me a humble and faithful follower, and a herald of your praise, if not loud, certainly most hearty, though I well know your merits are too great to stand in need of any commendation of mine. For the rest, I pray, that God may continue both to you and to Budé his blessing on your productive intellects, and may grant to both a long life, in which having completed what you have already promised, you may conceive still greater designs. Farewell and love us.

Epistle 485. Postscript to Epistle 484.

Nicolas Bérauld to Erasmus.

When our Deloin was just going to seal the above letter, I have come in, and by his permission, add my greeting with my own hand, which may take the place of leaving my name and salutation at your door.

Paris [November, 1516].*

The following letter of More, which is without date of time, may well come in here. In Epistle 470, dated 31 October, and again a little later in Epistle 472, he had expressed a wish to have Tunstall's opinion of his *Nusquama*. He has since received from that friend a most gratifying letter about his work, which he now calls by the name that has since become so famous. Epistle 486 may be ascribed to the beginning of December, and may not improbably have accompanied the following letter of Ammonius to Brussels.

* Luteciæ. Nicolaus Beraldus tuus. *Epist. s. q. eleg.* Deloin's letter has no date of its own.

Epistle 486. D.; C. 1663 (250).

More to Erasmus.

I have seen Ursewick about your horse. He says, he has not yet got one that he thinks worth sending to you, but will send one for certain at the next fair,† if he does not do so before.

I lately returned Maruffo's bill with more liberal directions, as he asserts; but I was unable to read them; neither could our Lilly do so, although he has a fair knowledge of Italian. The money, which you left with me, has been for some time in Gillis's hands, as my agent has returned, and says he has paid it.‡ Our friend Master Palgrave, who has long been, as you know, most devoted to you, is now going to Louvain to study Law, but without giving up his old attachment to good Latin and Greek literature. * * I am giving him,—to take to you,—all those letters, which were formerly sent you from your friends at Basel, and which I have long kept by me.§ It is a convenient occasion to send them; no safer bearer could be found; and nothing he could bring would make him more welcome, than this multitude of most learned Epistles of persons so dear to you, which you have so long wanted and had almost given up for lost. I have told him not to deliver them to you till he has obtained your promise, that you will assume in accepting them, that he is commended to you in every one of them.

I am listening every day, and stand with ears intent to hear about that Sicilian business of yours. I pray God it may end happily.‖

Master Tunstall has lately sent me a letter full of the most friendly feeling; his judgment about our Republic, so

† ad proximas nundinas.

‡ See pp. 382, 393, 420, 425.

§ See Epistle 470, p. 420.

‖ See pp. 401, 410.

frank, so complimentary, has given me more pleasure than an Attic talent! You have no idea how I jump for joy, how tall I have grown, how I hold up my head, when a vision comes before my eyes, that my Utopians have made me their perpetual sovereign. I seem already to be marching along, crowned with a diadem of wheat, conspicuous in a Greyfriar's cloak,* and carrying for a sceptre a few ears of corn, surrounded by a noble company of Amaurotians; and with this numerous attendance meeting the ambassadors and princes of other nations,—poor creatures in comparison with us, inasmuch as they pride themselves on coming out, loaded with puerile ornaments and womanish finery, bound with chains of that hateful gold, and ridiculous with purple and gems and other bubbly trifles. But I would not have either you or Tunstall form an estimate of me from the character of others, whose behaviour changes with their fortune. Even though it has pleased Heaven to raise our humility to that sublime elevation, with which no kingdom can in my judgment be compared,† you shall never find me unmindful of that old familiarity, which has subsisted between us while I have been in a private station; and if you take the trouble to make so small a journey as to visit me in Utopia, I will effectually provide, that all the mortals who are subject to our clemency, shall show you that honour, which they owe to those whom they know to be dearest to their sovereign. I was proceeding further with this most delightful dream, when the break of day dispersed the vision, deposing poor me from my sovereignty, and recalling me to prison, that is, to my legal work. Nevertheless I console myself with the reflection, that real kingdoms are not much more lasting. Farewell, dearest Erasmus.

London [December, 1516].‡

* The most primitive and simple of costumes.

† cui nullum Regum posse conferri censeo. *For* Regum *read* regnum.

‡ Anno 1517. C.

Epistle 487 has a certain importance in the biography of Erasmus, as one of the documents connected with his Dispensation. See p. 338. It is also of interest, as the last private letter that we have of Ammonius.* This most devoted and useful friend, after performing a signal service to Erasmus in the presentation of his suit to the Papal Court (see pp. 313, 322), and in obtaining the Dispensing Power, dated in January, 1517 (Epistle 501), himself performed the Act of Dispensation in the following April (Epistle 550), and died some four months later of the fatal disease, called the Sweat, with which this country was then visited. Epistle 579. The following letter might well, at this time, give his correspondent some anxiety about the health of the writer, and the measures taken for his cure.

Epistle 487. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 25.

Ammonius to Erasmus.

I have some difficulty in writing this letter to you, as I am suffering from a slight attack of ague.† It began with a pain in the stomach, which I tried to cure with vomiting and some warm fomentations, and so disturbed the bile that it broke into fever; from which I seem only just now relieved; no little part of the relief being due to the pleasure given me by the letters, relating to your affair, which have lately arrived from Rome.

I understand that *the Chief Priest* ‡ is wonderfully disposed in your favour, and have heard from the Bishop of Worcester, what can be obtained,—indeed what has been obtained,—for you. He would not complete it, because he was afraid, as is the case, that we should not be satisfied;

* The original is at Basel, endorsed in the hand of Erasmus: Manus Andree Ammonii. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 26.

† ut qui tertianula laborem.

‡ N. (qu. read τὸν) ἀρχιερέα. The Pope; not one of the Cardinals, as Professor Vischer suggests in his note.

and has sent me a draft,* to be returned to him, if approved by us. In case you desire anything else, he advises you to write distinctly to the Pope again, and promises to support your letter with his own prayers. I advise you to write this letter, and another to the Bishop, to the effect you think most convenient. What I have called the draft, you will receive with this letter, and you will find on it some additional particulars suggested by my judgment. I wanted to consult Sixtinus, and sent for him to come to me ; but when he came, I could not possibly attend to him ; but I told him why I had sent for him, and begged him to come again. He promised to do so ; but has been kept away, I suppose, by some important business. It has since occurred to me, that it is better to leave the matter in your hands, so that you may dispose of it yourself, or submit it to the judgment of any persons you choose.

When you have added or cancelled what you think right, have the draft as corrected by you, written out fair, and send it to Rome to the Bishop of Worcester with my letters, in which I am writing what course of proceeding I think expedient. Do not forget your letter *to the Greatest*,† and be of good cheer ; you will soon be happy, if your happiness depends upon this matter, which is all but in your own hands. Your letter lately delivered to me by More does not need much answer, except that I am amused at that class of people, who live to gratify their appetite. I wonder that you have been able to shut up the mouths of those brawlers, and that they have been so far masters of themselves, as to hold their tongues.

As for our Tunstall (for I do not allow you to claim him entirely), I am very much afraid of disturbing his important occupations with my nonsense ; and therefore take pains to

* exemplum ad me misit.

† *πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον*, the Pope himself.

encroach as little as possible upon them; for I have myself always a few vacant minutes to spare for cramming together in some fashion a number of trifles.*

For the rest, as you have made me your Æsculapius,† you may get ready the finest cock you can find, to be sacrificed to me forthwith.

Westminster, 4 December [1516].‡

Georgius Spalatinus, writing to Erasmus on the 11th of December, 1516, from Lochana, a castle of Frederic, duke of Saxony,—EPISTLE 488, C. 1579 (94),—speaks of that prince's admiration for Erasmus, all of whose works he has in his library; and mentions his own preceptor, C. Mutianus Rufinus, as an old schoolfellow of Erasmus at Daventer under Alexander Hegius. The main subject of his letter is a passage in Erasmus's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, upon the subject of Original Sin and Justification.

The first two lines of the following letter refer to Epistle 486. The second clause is of interest as confirming the authorship of the satirical dialogue known as the *Genius Julii*, or *Julius cœlis exclusus*, the original draft of which in Erasmus's hand, was in More's possession.

EPISTLE 489. D.; C. 1649 (221).

More to Erasmus.

I have no doubt that you have received my letter which was given to our Palgrave to be delivered to you, together with some letters from friends at Basel. I am glad that Dorpius has recovered his senses. He appears to be tamed by rebukes after having been made more headstrong by civil speeches. Such indeed is the character of some people. If

* Mihi ad nugas aliquot utcunque infulciendas semper aliquid vacat. Perhaps we may understand, that Ammonius still devoted some part of his time to Poetical composition. See pp. 9, 13, 15.

† See Epistle 474, p. 430.

‡ Pridie non. decembris ex Westmon. Vischer.

you give way to them ever so little, they become insolent; if treated with contempt, they are crushed and disheartened. I long to read, if it could be managed, all the correspondence that has passed between you.

Lupset has restored to me some sheets of yours, which he had kept by him for some time. Among them is the *Genius of Julius*, and two Declamations, one on the teaching of boys from infancy, the other Consolatory. All are in your hand, but only the first draft, and nothing quite complete. Except these, he solemnly denies that he has in his possession any of those things of yours which you want. If you desire these to be sent to you, let me know at once.

As soon as Christmas is over, Linacre is going to send what he is translating from Galen to Paris, to be printed there. Lupset will go with it, and stay to correct the press. You have no idea how delighted Linacre was with that mention of his books, which you made in the letter you lately wrote me. Believe me, he is yours with all his heart.

The Bishop of Winchester,* a most sagacious person, as you know, being present at a very full meeting of persons of importance, when a conversation arose about you and your lucubrations, asserted with universal approval, that your translation of the New Testament was as good to him as ten commentaries; so much light was afforded by the same things being said in Latin, without the Greek forms of expression, even if there was nothing else in the Vulgate that was amended.

Your letter has excited my expectations, and I now look every day for our Utopia, with the feelings with which a mother awaits the return of her boy from foreign parts. Farewell, sweetest Erasmus.

I have sent your letter to Latimer, who will, I do not

* Richard Foxe (see vol. i. p. 391) was still Bishop of Winchester, and continued so until his death in 1528.

doubt, not only do what you wish, but will do it with pleasure. My wife bids me give you a thousand greetings, and thank you for your very careful salutation, in which you wished her a long life, of which she says she is all the more desirous, that she may plague me the longer.

London, in haste, 15 December, [1516].*

The above Epistle, fortunately preserved in the Deventer manuscript, is one which Erasmus would have been careful not to publish. It is of importance as containing, beside other matters of interest, a reference to the most powerful and most bitter of Erasmus's satirical writings, which, without the evidence of this letter, might have been suspected to be his work, but could scarcely perhaps have been attributed to him with certainty.† We here find, that the draft, in Erasmus's hand, of the *Julius Exclusus*, which, in a long dialogue between the shade of Pope Julius II and St Peter, describes the repulse of that Pope from the door of Heaven, had been for a while in the custody of Lupset,—probably for the purpose of transcription, —and had now passed into that of More, who proposed to restore it to Erasmus. The latter did not think it necessary to suppress it, though the authorship was kept concealed. On the following 1st of March he sent word to More, that this dialogue was in the hands of the Great Chancellor of Burgundy, who found it extremely amusing. Epistle 525, C. 189 E. And Dorpius in a letter dated 14 July, 1518, tells Erasmus that the *libellus de Iulio cœlis excluso* was read by every one and condemned by few, though his correspondent might have reason to be displeased with a writer, who at that unfortunate time roused a prejudice against literature. C. 331 E F. In a later Epistle addressed to Cardinal Campeggio, dated 1 May, 1519, Erasmus refers to the *Julius Exclusus* as a work he had dipped into, rather than read, some five years before, about the authorship of which he had a suspicion, but had not investigated the matter: though some persons had attributed it to him on account of the style, which

* Londino raptim 15 Decembris, Anno 1517. C.

† The *Julius cœlis exclusus* is not in the collected works of Erasmus, but is printed by Dr. Jortin in his second volume, having been transcribed by him 'from an edition of the *Pasquilii*, which is in the *Museum Britannicum*.' Jortin, *Erasmus*, ii. 600.

he did not recognize. C. 437 A B. We may here observe, that Erasmus, denying in an indirect and half-hearted way the authorship of a work, which does not appear to have been published until the spring of 1517, admits that he had seen it five years before his denial, that is, in the spring or summer of 1514, about which time it was probably composed, Pope Julius having died in the preceding year. As far as I know, none of the writers who have interested themselves in the question of the authorship of the *Julius Exclusus*, have taken notice of Epistle 489. It was overlooked by Dr. Jortin, who without pretending to determine the question decisively, was evidently convinced that the satire was the work of Erasmus. See further Epistle 514.

Petrus Viterius (*qu.* Pierre Vitré) to whom Erasmus had dedicated, four years before, an edition of his treatise *de Ratione Studii* (see Epistle 251, p. 70) now writes to Erasmus, from the College of Navarre at Paris, EPISTLE 490, dated the 18th of December, 1516,—Deventer MS.; C. 1580 (95),—protesting his continued attachment, and begging for a letter, or some token of remembrance. He is engaged in school-work, and, when he has a little rest, takes refuge in the society of Grey, with whom he can talk of Erasmus. We may bear in mind that Erasmus retained to the last a sincere regard for Viterius, to whom he left a legacy by his will.

By the end of the year, Erasmus was becoming impatient for news of the conclusion of his suit at Rome, which,—under the zealous direction of Ammonius, with the co-operation of his old patron and friend, the Bishop of Worcester,—was probably proceeding much more rapidly than was usual with business in that Court. The controversies to which his theological works were giving rise, made him all the more anxious to be relieved of anxiety as to his own personal and ecclesiastical status.

EPISTLE 491. Farrago, p. 228; Ep. viii. 36; C. 218 (225).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I beseech you, dearest Ammonius, by your own prosperity and by my ill fortune, and as you would desire the latter lightened, and the former confirmed and perpetuated, write

and urge the Bishop of Worcester to bring my business to a conclusion as soon as possible. Almost all the noblemen of this Court are favourable, especially the Chancellor, and also the King himself.

I hear that some Theologians are trying to obtain a Decree delegating the examination of my volumes to the School of Louvain and the sister School of Cologne. If this be done, they will have, in the first place, a task which will last them a couple of years, and in the next place the authority that delegates the examination, will by the same act enjoin an adequate knowledge of both Greek and Latin, in which the members are alike deficient. I think however it will come to nothing, for both here and at Court all the best people are in my favour, and also among the theologians the principal men wish me well.

I wrote about my business some days ago * by Tunstall's courier. That man has a great idea of you and your talent.

They say, that before long there is to be a meeting of sovereigns, that is to say, Maximilian, the king of France, and our king Charles, at Cambrai, when the question of an inviolable peace is to be considered.†

I beg you again and again, my Andrew, that the business we are about, may be as much hastened as it can be. It shall not be possible, by any fault of mine, to call me ungrateful.

[Brussels], the morrow of Holy Innocents (29 December), 1516.‡

The following letter to Lewis Baer, the Dean of the University of Basel, is an answer to Epistle 479, congratulating Erasmus upon the canonry conferred upon him by Prince Charles.

* ante dies aliquot. *Farrago.*

† The sovereigns did not meet at Cambrai as proposed, but a Treaty was concluded by their representatives there, 11 March, 1517. Brewer, ii. 3008.

‡ postridie Innocentum. *Farrago.* Anno M.D.XVI *add. Opus Epist.*

EPISTLE 492. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 153; Ep. i. 33; C. 165 (191).

Erasmus to Lewis Baer.

I do not know yet, whether you have any reason to congratulate me; but at any rate it is most kind of you to do so, dreaming that I have achieved such a fortune as your love would wish for me. But whatever the value of the prize I have won, if you knew what court I have paid for it, you might well think it strange. If you regard my merits, it may seem great; if my ambition, enough; although I have exchanged the prebend for a pension of less amount, so as not to trench upon my leisure, which is of more importance to me than money. I have good reason to love you, following me as you do in my absence with the same partiality with which you have always welcomed me when with you.

As to envy, that may perhaps be earned by those who profess some brilliant accomplishment, or invade the glory of others by extraordinary erudition, or obtain prominence by supplanting those about them; but what have I to do with envy, who make no profession at all, and having scarcely a moderate share of learning, do not stand in anybody's light, nor claim either precedence or equality in relation to any mortal being? I only endeavour by my small exertions, to promote the general instruction. It has been thought that I express myself in some places with too much heat; but those who think so, do not take into account the want of due respect with which sacred literature and the writings of the Fathers are received. While I was pushing on through my work, although my indignation was repeatedly curbed by reason, I could not in every case hide my feelings. But I was afterwards forced to be more restrained by the extreme scrupulosity of some of my

friends. For indeed, if it can be done, I should wish to assist study in such a way as not to offend any mortal being. If I do not always succeed in this, I am comforted by the consciousness of rectitude, and by the consideration, that up to this time I have the approval of the most approved persons ; and we may well hope, that what now satisfies the candid, will in time satisfy all. At any rate I trust, that I shall never be pleased with anything that is false in learning or religion, even in my own books.

Farewell. Pray be as good as a letter from me to the Reverend Father the Bishop of Basel. I shall always bear in mind, what I owe to that Prince.

Brussels, 1 Jan. 1516-7.*

We have read of the *Utopia* being in the Press, pp. 431, 435. The first mention of it, as completed, is in a letter of lord Mountjoy, who had received an early copy from Erasmus.

Epistle 493. C. 1549 (44).

Lord Mountjoy to Erasmus.

Your letter, and the book on the Island of Utopia sent with it are both very welcome. The letter is from one on whose affection I can rely, and the book is the work of another, who, not only for his learning, but on account of his close friendship with us, has a foremost place in our regard. I have not read it yet, being overwhelmed with business, but shall do so soon, so that until I can again enjoy his society, I may at any rate visit my More in Utopia.

I am very desirous of hearing about your affairs, whether you are enjoying Tunstall, a person who has so many qualities to make him agreeable to you ; also, whether you have

* Bruxellæ, Cal. Ianuarijs Anno M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

taken possession of the prebend lately granted you, or obtained a pension from the Prince, an arrangement no less expedient than pleasant. * * *

If you have time to spare, and will deign to visit us, you will give us great pleasure. The arrangements for our return to England are not yet settled. Pray greet the reverend Chancellor in my name.

Tournay, 4 January, [1517].†

Lord Mountjoy had been for some time suing for permission to give up his command at Tournay; from which he was relieved not long after the date of this letter. He left that city with his wife and son (born there during the previous year), on the 22nd of January, 1517. Brewer, ii. 2825. See pp. 456, 466.

The following is an answer to Watson's letter from Cambridge, Epistle 442.

EPISTLE 494. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 133; Ep. i. 24; C. 166 (192).

Erasmus to John Watson.

What is this tale of yours, my worthy Watson? Have I indeed been travelling in your company as far as distant Syria? However, I have the same story to tell, myself; since to whatever part of the world I go, I carry my friends with me in my mind, and my Watson among the first, remembering our delightful intercourse, and those nights that passed in amusing talk of which one never tired. It has also been a pleasure to me to be reminded of the old friends with whom I was intimate at Venice. The one whose name you had forgotten was Marcus Musurus. I know their indulgence; they so load Erasmus with their praises, as to make him even, if it were possible, an object of envy to some

† Ex Tornaco 4 Januarii, Anno 1516. C.

persons; a consummation I certainly never expected, and in which I even now can scarcely believe.

I am not displeased to find, that the New Testament meets with the approbation of a man at once honest and learned as you are. But I will not venture to make any profession about it myself, save this, that we have striven our utmost by our humble industry to commend the philosophy of Christ to virtuous minds. And I strongly approve, my dear John, your attitude of mind; versed in the mazes of Scotus, you do not despise these ruder and more simple methods, and thus succeed in satisfying those you have to teach, while you none the less enjoy the fruits of your own judgment. This attitude consists well with a character religious without superciliousness, good humoured without levity, and strict without harshness. But I must stop this strain, for fear it may appear "not praise but barter."*

Peter Falk, a gentleman of high position in his country,† wrote a great deal when he had returned home, about two Englishmen, whose names I suppose he had forgotten. It struck me at once,—this must be my Watson,—for I had heard you were on your travels.

I had already mounted my horse, with the intention of going to Cambridge, when a message was brought, that your Chancellor, the bishop of Rochester, was that very day to be in London. I consequently stayed there some days, expecting his arrival every day. Your letter was not delivered to me until some months later.

You ask for a list of my lucubrations. This has, without my knowledge, been supplied by Adrian Barland, a man of elegant taste and an agreeable facility of language. I send you his letter.

* οὐκ ἔπαινος ἀλλ' ἀμοιβή. I do not find this expression in the Adages. Watson's letter, Epistle 442, to which this was an answer, is rather complimentary.

† See Watson's letter, p. 335.

You will give my several salutations to all my friends, though I do not mention them by name. Farewell, sweetest friend.

Brussels, 13th of January, 1516-7.*

The letter of Adrian Barland with the account of Erasmus's works, above referred to, has been included in our list of Epistles as Epistle 468. See p. 412. The answer of Watson to Epistle 494, written from Peterhouse, Cambridge, without date of time, C. 1882 (500), is Epistle 556 in our Register.

In the following hurried note of More, the second paragraph relates to the publication of the *Utopia*, which was printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain under the direction of Erasmus. We have seen (Epistle 477), that the manuscript had been committed to the printer before the 12th of November, 1516 By the 4th of January, 1517, a copy was in lord Mountjoy's hands. Epistle 493. The prefatory matter contained in the volume included a letter of Peter Gillis to Jerome Busleiden, a letter of Joannes Paludanus (John von der Broek) to Peter Gillis, and a letter of Busleiden to More.

Epistle 495. C. 1590 (112).

More to Erasmus.

Maruffo's bill is, I think, much like this letter, which it will be a marvel if you can read; but you must forgive me, sweetest Erasmus, as I have neither time to write, nor head to think, so pressed am I with constant business. If you have received the money from Maruffo, you must write to the Archbishop, so that Maruffo may get back what he pays.

I have sent my thanks to Busleiden by letter; you will convey the like in my name to Paludanus as well as to Gillis, since they choose to attribute their writing to you.

You have no idea what a devoted friend, what a stout

* Bruxellæ Idibus Ianuarias (*sic*) *Epist. s. q. eleg.* Anno M.D.XVI. *add. Opus Epist.*

upholder of your studies you have in Linacre. I have not yet had any opportunity of fishing out, why Grocin was so anxious to meet you, as he is not yet come to London.

In haste, London, 13 Jan. 1517.*

Between the 13th and 18th of January, Erasmus paid a short visit to Louvain, of which, before the latter date, Peter Gillis had received an account from Thierry Martens. Epistle 496, in which this visit is mentioned, contains allusions to a recent event in the writer's family. His wife had given birth to her first-born child, a daughter, to whom Tunstall had stood godfather. Epistle 497. Hence Gillis's knowledge of his gossip Tunstall's movements. The latter had left Brussels on the 12th of January for Tournay, where he stayed until the 25th, to facilitate the departure of lord Mountjoy, who had obtained leave to return to England. See p. 453. The whole of the following month Tunstall was at Mechlin. Brewer, ii. 2765, 2847, 2861, 2991.

Epistle 496. C. 1591 (113).

Peter Gillis to Erasmus.

I am bound to write to you, as Nicolas of Bavaria, a mathematician, is on his way to Brussels, where he is taking some Astrolabes and Spheres for sale. He brings you a Greek book, which has been sent by the Prior of St. Agnes. I have answered for its receipt, and given the messenger a memorandum signed in my hand.

Thierry has told me in what a friendly and kind way you were received by the theologians of Louvain ; which I was very glad to hear. I understand that my gossip Tunstall is gone ; and am sorry for you, as I know that it suits you better to live with him than with our own countrymen. I have received from Paris, Suetonius, Vopiscus, Spartianus, and several other authors, printed some time ago in Italy.

* Raptim Londino 13 Januarii, Anno 1517. C.

If you want them, write at once, and they shall fly to you. The young mother and my father send their greetings.

Farewell, and love me; I need not say how I love you.

Antwerp, 18 January, 1517.*

EPISTLE 497. Farrago, p. 194; Ep. vii. 34; C. 1775 (186).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I am glad you have a daughter, and congratulate you on having Tunstall for her godfather; our age does not possess a more learned, a better or a kinder man. I do not seem to be alive, now he is taken from me; neither do I see where I am to fly. Mountjoy is too far off; Louvain, although I have somehow or other made it up with the theologians, would give me a hard welcome in Lent; and as for staying here, I have no mind to do so. If without inconvenience you can let me have the one chamber which has a closet attached to it, I may perhaps remove to you, to prepare what I have to send to Basel. I want you to charge me with what you expend beyond your accustomed rate; and in that way we shall not be much burden to each other. Let me know as soon as you can, but do not make any change in your house, until, after hearing from you, I send you word in return.

I hear nothing as yet about the money, but am much concerned that it may not be any longer in the usurer's hands.†

I pray your sweet wife may go on well.

Our business would make too long a story to be committed to writing. Dining the other day with the Chancellor,

* Antuerpia 18 Januarii, Anno 1517. C.

† Erasmus had received from the Archbishop a bill drawn upon Maruffo, which apparently he had not yet been able to change. See Epistle 495.

I spoke of you in terms of praise, to which he listened with attention. Give my greetings to your excellent father, now twice a father. Farewell.

Brussels, the eve of St. Agnes, 20 Jan. [1517].†

The following conciliatory letter of Dorpius was written in anticipation of Erasmus's proposed migration to Louvain. We may conceive, that in Erasmus's experimental visit to that place he had spent most of his time with Paludanus, and that Dorpius had not had the opportunity, which he may have desired, of a confidential talk with him.

The New Testament published in the Greek text, with a new Translation in substitution for the Vulgate, had no doubt produced no slight commotion among the theologians of Louvain. See p. 450.

Epistle 498. Deventer MS ; C. 1660 (247).

Martin Dorpius to Erasmus.

Pray believe, most excellent and learned Erasmus, that what was told you by Paludanus, the most courteous and at the same time the sincerest of men, is as true as true can be. I will really show the spirit which he has described ; I will suspend my opinion, and play the part of a loyal Academician. At the same time I appeal to your candour, not to believe that any obloquy or calumny or suspicion that may have arisen, has proceeded from me. When you come, we can go further into the matter, and I will undertake to show you, that I have really and sincerely acted as a friend. Meantime we must hold our tongues ; I only beg you to fly hither as soon as you possibly can.

The bearer of this letter is a Bavarian, John Langenfeld by name.‡ * * * He has begged me to introduce him, being persuaded that my commendation will have

† Bruxellæ. pridie Agnetis. *Farrago ;* Anno M.D.XVIII. *add. Opus Epist.*

‡ nomine Ioannes Longicampianus. Längenfeld is the name of a village in the Oetzthal near the Bavarian frontier.

some weight with you ; of which I have myself no doubt. He asks nothing but permission to see you, to talk with you, and admire.

Whatever has come between us, my wish is that we may set it aside, and sincerely cultivate friendship. If there is anything amiss, you will satisfy everybody in your next edition, supposing that there are still some so feeble as to stand in need of milk ; for, like Paul, we must be all things to all men, and so, weak to the weak. For myself, I will show myself a Christian friend, and my intention has never been otherwise.

Farewell, and above all things contrive to have some converse with several of our theologians, and especially with our President, a most cultivated and learned man, who has profited by a long experience of human affairs. Of this my friend, the very learned Master Peter Atrebas, will give you a more extended account. Again I bid you farewell, and beg to recommend Langenfeld, as a learned and honest man, to your kind notice.

Louvain [January] 1517.*

* Lovanio ; Anno 1517. C.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Continued residence at Brussels. Papal Dispensation. Removal to Antwerp. January and February, 1517. *Epistles* 499 *to* 513.

The exertions of Ammonius on behalf of Erasmus at the Papal Court (see pp. 313, 388) had not been without effect. The despatches sent from Rome to England in the early days of February, 1517, included four documents, in which Erasmus was personally interested. The object of the first and most important of these—Epistle 499 in our Register, dated the 26th of January, 1517, and addressed by Pope Leo X. to Ammonius—was to authorize the latter to grant such a dispensation to Erasmus (whose identity is indicated by description, the name being suppressed), as would enable him to continue his mode of life in the world, and to accept and retain preferment in the Church, in spite of the disabilities arising from his illegitimate birth and the obligations imposed on him by his monastic vow. The second, Epistle 500, dated on the same day, is an instrument addressed by the Pope to Erasmus himself, giving him liberty to hold church preferment to the yearly value of a thousand ducats of gold. The third, Epistle 501, is a letter of a more private character addressed by the Pope to Erasmus with the same date; and the fourth, Epistle 503, is a letter from the Bishop of Worcester, dated five days later, reviewing the transactions at the Papal Court on Erasmus's behalf, in which he had been giving his assistance. The formal instruments connected with his Dispensation,—Epistles 499, 500,—were carefully kept by Erasmus, and are now among the documents preserved in the Public Library at Basel, which were printed by Prof. Wilhelm Vischer in 1876. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, pp. 26-30. The letters of the Pope and the Bishop of Worcester,—Epistles 501, 503,—as they were published under the authority of Erasmus in 1517 in the collection entitled *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, served only to show that he had obtained from the Pope a Dispensation or Indulgence of some kind.

Epistle 499 has a special interest as bearing upon the private life and secret anxieties of Erasmus. In the following translation the short recitals relating to Erasmus's life, with which it commences, are given in full, the formal phraseology of the latter part of the document being somewhat abridged.

EPISTLE 499. Vischer, Erasmiana, p. 26.

Pope Leo X. to his beloved son, Andreas Ammonius, Notary, his Collector.

Beloved son, Health and Apostolic Benediction. Thou hast lately brought to our notice, that there is living at present in those parts a man distinguished for his learning, who in his boyhood was by those that had charge of him presented to a monastery of Canons Regular, wherein, more by reason of threats, shame and want, than of his own free will, he remained, until he made the profession usually made by the Canons of the said monastery; furthermore, although he labours under a defect of birth, having been begotten of an illicit, and, as he fears, incestuous and forbidden intercourse,* he has been promoted by the license of his Superior to all sacred Orders, including priesthood, and having been called out by the Bishop of Cambrai with the license of the Ordinary and of his own Prelates, he hath in divers Universities devoted himself to study and become a most learned man; and finally, not of his own fancy but constrained by circumstances, he did first cover and then altogether put off the habit usually worn by the said Canons, and hath for several years gone about in the habit of a secular priest and so goeth at present, thereby incurring apostasy and other sentences, censures and penalties ecclesiastical, pronounced against such offenders by the institutes of the said Order, and desireth for his soul's rest and to

* Ex illicito et ut timet incesto damnatoque coitu. See vol. i. p. 14.

avoid further scandal, to remain in the said secular habit, and to be absolved from apostasy and other sentences, censures and penalties, and to be enabled to hold benefices, and that this indulgence be granted to him, that in the procurement of any Letters Apostolic he be not bound to make any mention of his defect of birth or of such dispensation : And thou hast caused supplication to be made to us, that we may be pleased of our apostolic benignity to grant to thee a licence and faculty to absolve him, and to concede to him such dispensation and indulgence : Now we hereby grant to thee licence and faculty, that if the said Canon, whose name and surname and such qualities and defects we hold as herein expressed, shall humbly ask the same, thou shalt by our authority, granted for this occasion only, be empowered to absolve him from apostasy and the aforesaid sentences in the form usual in the Church, enjoining salutary penances according to his offence, if he has contracted any by celebrating Mass or other divine offices (but not in contempt of the Keys) or otherwise meddling therein ; And to dispense that he may lawfully dwell without the monasteries of the said Order in suitable and honest places so long as he shall live, and may carry the sign only of his Canon's habit under the dress of a secular priest ; And may receive and freely and lawfully retain whatsoever ecclesiastical benefices shall be conferred upon him ; And to abolish every stain or mark of disability or infamy contracted by occasion of the premises ; And that in future, in any letters concerning grace or justice to be procured from the Apostolic See, he shall not be bound to make any mention of the said defect and dispensation, and that any such letters shall in nowise for that reason be held surreptitious or invalid, but shall in all things be held good, as if he had been born in lawful wedlock, —the constitutions and ordinances apostolic, statutes of churches and monasteries (to which for this turn only we

specially and expressly derogate) and the aforesaid defect and all other things to the contrary notwithstanding. Given at Rome at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring the 26th day of January, 1517, the fourth year of our pontificate.

The same paper on which the above instrument is written, contains a memorandum of the absolution of Erasmus by Ammonius under the power contained in it, which was completed on the 9th of April, 1517. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 28. See in our Register, Epistle 550.

The next in order of these documents (EPISTLE 500, Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 29), dated the same day as Epistle 499, was addressed by Pope Leo to Erasmus himself by the following name and description: *dilecto filio Erasmo Rogerii Roterodamensi clerico Trajectensis diocesis*. The surname here attributed to Erasmus has been noticed in our previous volume, p. 39. By this instrument, Erasmus was absolved from all ecclesiastical censures and penalties already incurred, and was permitted to hold a plurality of benefices to the amount of a thousand ducats of gold.

The formal documents,—Epistles 499, 500,—appear to have been forwarded to Erasmus, doubtless through the agency of the Bishop of Worcester and Ammonius, accompanied by a short letter from the Pope to Erasmus of a more private character, Epistle 501,—which in its opening sentence contains some expressions, little altered, that are also found in the more formal Indulgence, Epistle 500,—and also by a friendly letter from the Bishop of Worcester. These two letters of the Pope and Bishop, being adapted for general perusal, were published under the sanction of Erasmus in the collection entitled *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, in April, 1517. The other documents we have been describing were not printed until 1876: see p. 460.

EPISTLE 501. Epistolæ s. q. elegantes, p. 146; Ep. i. 28; C. 166 (193).

Pope Leo X. to Erasmus.

Beloved son, health and apostolic benediction. The good fame of your life and character, your rare erudition, and

high merits, not only testified by the monuments of your studies, which are everywhere celebrated, but also by the general vote of the most learned men, and commended to us finally by the letters of two most illustrious princes, the king of England and the Catholic King, give us reason to distinguish you with special and singular favour. We have therefore willingly granted your request, being ready to declare more abundantly our affection towards you, when you shall either yourself minister occasion, or accident shall furnish it, deeming it right that your holy industry, assiduously exerted for the public advantage, should be encouraged to higher endeavours by adequate rewards.

Given at Rome the 26th day of January in the 4th year of our Pontificate [1517].*

The letter of the Bishop of Worcester, Epistle 503, is dated from Rome the 31st of January, and is printed immediately after Epistle 501, in the collection entitled *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, where it is followed by the answers of Erasmus to the Pope and to the Bishop, despatched from Brussels in the following March. Epistles 526, 527. It may be observed, that the Bishop of Worcester, on account of his old friendship for Ammonius, and of the close relation in which they now stood to each other, as the King's Latin Secretary in England and his representative at Rome, could always be depended upon to assist the efforts of his friend on behalf of Erasmus, in whose cause he appears to have been sincerely interested. The letter of the Bishop (Epistle 503) reviewing the proceedings at the Papal Court with respect to Erasmus's Dispensation, in which the writer had taken so important a part, finds its place in the Chronological Register after a letter of Latimer, which is dated on the previous day; but for the reader's convenience, the Bishop's letter is here placed in immediate connection with the other letters which relate to the same transaction. Some account of Latimer's letter (Epistle 502) will be found in p. 466.

* Datum Romæ. XXVI. Ianuarij. M.D.XVI. Anno pontificatus nostri quarto. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

EPISTLE 503. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 147; Ep. i. 29; C. 167 (195).

Silvester de Giglis, Bishop of Worcester, to Erasmus.

Venerable Sir, revered as a brother, it has been a great pleasure to me to have had the opportunity of exerting myself for your gratification. For, having always entertained a marvellous respect for your learning and extraordinary virtues, there was nothing I wished more, than to be able to show my willingness to serve you. Therefore, the opportunity being offered me, I have gladly undertaken your business, and spared no pains to lay the matter at length before his Holiness; who by reason of his own goodness, and of the special favour with which he regards you, has willingly consented to your request. But you know, that these affairs are not completed by a single hand. Hence there has been always some person or other to cause delay. But his Holiness being favourable throughout, we have now completed the whole business according to your wish. It was not my fault, that it was not more quickly despatched; but some ill-health, and the disturbances connected with the duchy of Urbino have caused no little trouble to his Holiness, and have led to this matter being brought to a later conclusion than we wished. I return you immortal thanks for the excellent opinion, which from your most welcome letter I understand you to have conceived of me, and which I attribute to your kindness and not to my own deserts. Nevertheless, such as I am, be assured that I am devoted to your service; and in whatever matter you deem that I can be useful to you or your friends, you may promise yourself every help from me, as from your natural brother. Farewell and love me.

Rome, 31 January [1517].*

* Romæ. XXXI. Ianuarij. M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

Epistle 503 has been translated above in order to place it in immediate connection with the other letters belonging to the group of despatches dated at Rome, of which it is one. In the chronological series it comes after EPISTLE 502, dated at Oxford, 30 January, [1517].* *Farrago*, p. 318; Ep. x. 22; C. 292 (301). This is a long letter addressed to Erasmus by William Latimer in answer to an epistle of the 21st of November, which has not been preserved, but in which Erasmus had claimed his advice in the correction of the New Testament, and had also begged his aid for the Greek studies of the Bishop of Rochester. As to the last request Latimer excuses himself upon the ground, that no important help could be given in the little time that he could spare, and advises that the Bishop should send for a Greek teacher from Italy. Upon the other matter he protests, that the Greek of the New Testament is a different language from that to which his own studies had been devoted.†

The following epistle of Gillis, which in the Deventer MS. has only the year-date 1516, was probably written soon after Epistle 497; but Gillis had apparently meantime received another note from Erasmus, putting off his proposed visit for a few days on account of his health. Tunstall had been staying in the latter half of January at Tournay, where he had met the Earl of Worcester, and from whence he wrote to Wolsey, January 22, 1517. On the 28th of the same month Sir Robert Wingfield wrote to King Henry VIII., that Mr. Vice-Chancellor, as the Master of the Rolls was sometimes called, had come back to Brussels. While the Earl of Worcester and Tunstall were at Tournay, Lord Mountjoy was able to give up the government of that place, and to return to England, as he had for some time desired to do.‡

* Oxonij. iii. Calendas Februarias. *Farrago.*

† This observation of Latimer recalls an Oxford story, which was told, more than half a century ago, of a well-known 'coach' (or private tutor) there,—that he had detected some expressions in an exercise of one of his pupils, which led him to observe in his most plaintive tone, "Now you have been reading the Greek Testament, Mr. * *. I *wish* you wouldn't." The Greek Testament, as well as the classical authors, formed part of the curriculum included in the examination for a degree in Arts.

‡ Brewer, Abstracts, ii. 2794, 2808, 2825, 2841. See before, pp. 453, 456.

EPISTLE 504. Deventer MS.; C. 1582 (97).

Peter Gillis to Erasmus.

I am very sorry that you are tied where you are, by illness; and indeed I have reason to be sorry when my soul's half is out of health. I hear that Tunstall has returned from Tournay. My friend Affinius,* who delivers this letter to you, is anxious to be introduced to you, in order that you may recommend him to Tunstall, as you can do much in that quarter.

Your society, my Erasmus, will be most welcome; but I am sorry that you are out of humour with the fatherland. This however we can discuss more fully when we meet. Helias and men of that sort shall not in future impose upon me. Once bitten, twice shy.† There is a book called *Prognostica* sold here with the name of Ortuinus; I never saw anything more ridiculous, if they are compared with the *prognoses* of our own doctors. I do not know what they mean, but I send them to amuse you, if you can attend to such trifles.

My wife and father send you their greetings. Farewell.

Antwerp, [February, 1517].‡

In the month of February, 1517, Erasmus received from King Francis I. by the agency of Budé, an offer of honourable preferment in France, which, for reasons only partly explained in his answer, he resolved at once to decline. We may well conjecture, that his principal motive in so doing was the apprehension, that the independence

* Cupit affinis meus. C. But compare Epistles 543, 677, addressed by Erasmus to Henricus Affinius, who appears to have been a physician residing at Antwerp.

† Ictus sapiam. See *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. i. Prov. 29.

‡ Antuerpia, Anno 1516. C.

of thought, which was essential to the value of his literary and theological work, would be less secure in the atmosphere of Paris.

The following letter from Budé comes in that correspondence, as it has been preserved, next in order to Budé's last letter, Epistle 483. The short note by which Erasmus had replied to the latter epistle, does not appear to have been thought worth publication, and has consequently been lost.

Epistle 505. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 109 ; Epist. i. 15. C. 168 (197).

Budé to Erasmus.

Just now I am in a state of great expectation on account of your note, which is so written as if you intended to find an early opportunity of sending me a really long letter ; and at the same time I am curious to know, what it is that Tunstall, your learned English ambassador, is going to address to me, challenging in that way the friendship of a man unknown to him, and indeed to almost all the learned, except those that know me by sight. In the meantime, considering that my turn for writing had not yet come, I was glad to put off my correspondence as far as you were concerned, being rather slow at writing letters even in French, in fact a very lazy person indeed, though perhaps when I am about it, I do not quite know where to leave off, as you have experienced before now. But an occasion has suddenly arisen of a kind that I am bound to seize with all my heart. Yesterday I took a fancy, not a common one with me, to spend some hours of the afternoon in looking round the booksellers' shops ; and at that of John Petit,* a well-known bookseller I met William Petit,—I suppose one of the same clan,—but a person of great distinction, an eminent divine, and an ornament of the Dominican order.

* Ioānis Parui. *Epist. s.q. eleg.*

He is now the King's confessor,† an office to which I give the name of sacred aurist. No other preacher is employed at Court on occasions of great solemnity, and it was the same in King Louis's time; a person exactly fitted by nature for ecclesiastical oratory. He not only is an intimate friend of mine and loves my friends, but has especially gained my esteem as a purchaser of rare books,—I had almost said of libraries,—while you would find it hard to say, whether his avidity in collecting his volumes is not surpassed by the benignity with which he imparts and lends them to his friends * * * But to return to the matter in hand, William Petit asserted, that a conversation had arisen in the King's circle (I think it was the day before yesterday) about men of Letters, and when much had been said about Erasmus and others,—perhaps about Budé,—the King, under Minerva's inspiration, as I hope, declared himself to the following effect. It was his intention by means of liberal rewards to induce the choicest scholars to settle in his kingdom, and in that way to found in France what might be called a seed plot of erudition. On hearing this said, Petit, who had long been intent on such an opportunity being not only a supporter of all men of letters, but an especial admirer and eulogist of your learning and industry, observed that in his opinion Erasmus ought above all to be sent for, and that this might best be arranged by means of Budé, who was on the most friendly terms with him. In the end the King was carried so far by this generous impulse (there being others present who were friends to Literature and to you) as to say that he desired me to offer you in his name the following terms; that if you could be induced to change your residence and to apply yourself with the same energy to literary work here as you have done in your own country, he would pledge himself to confer on you a benefice

† a sacrosanctis confessionibus regi. *Epist. s. q. cleg.*

of a thousand francs † or more. You will understand that in this matter I take no further responsibility than that of an agent, reporting in good faith the proposal of his employer. For I have not been personally concerned in the matter; no advantage has come to me by this fancy of the King, and none is, I think, likely to come, feeling as I do, that my own ideas are not only unlike, but repugnant to those in fashion at Court, and that the Genius, which Providence has, as I take it, assigned to me, is one that can neither please a Court nor be pleased with himself at Court; and indeed I must needs do violence to my Genius and to my character, if I mean to grow in the favour of Fors Fortuna; although this is desired and thought to be my due by many persons; with whom I do not agree, having formed a truer and closer estimate of myself. Your case is quite different, as nothing will be required of you, but what you can easily and cheerfully perform. If the pages of royal bounty could be as profitably filled with lay names as with those of the spiritualty, a married man like myself might agree to rest some hope on the chances of fortune. As it is, my life and studies are so arranged, that there is scarcely any crop for me to sow or reap in the affairs of a court, or even in public business. * * Here perhaps you will ask, what I advise you to do. But what can you do better, than at once accept and embrace the proposed terms? First, because I should gladly see you inclined to do so, even for my own sake alone; and next, because if you accept them, you will be doing the best for your own honour and fame, as well as for your fortunes. Good Heavens! how glorious it will be for you, how splendid and fortunate in the estimation it will reflect upon all learned persons, that recommended by your learning you have been sought out and invited into a remote country by the most illustrious of kings,—one who is himself, not

† Ad mille Francicos. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

ignorant of Letters, but fluent in speech, clever, well-mannered, gentle and accessible, furnished largely by Nature with rare endowments of body and of mind,—an admirer and eulogist of ancient princes, who have at any time earned fame by their exploits or magnanimity. Add to this that, if ever king had, he has the means of giving, and no one gives more largely or more kindly. So far as one may guess, he is desirous of being the founder of a noble scheme, under which for the future liberal as well as other arts may be of some advantage to their professors, contrary to the usage that has long prevailed. But what makes me promise you every success, is that the whole tribe of learned, and I may add of virtuous people, appears likely to have in the King's Confessor (as I have already intimated) a sort of public agent to act in the common interest, as a perpetual monitor to prevent the Sovereign for forgetting his noble resolve; and that agent, a person specially devoted to you and your writings. Then again, Stephen Poncher, the Bishop of Paris, whom I am pleased to claim as a cousin, and who having been ambassador at Brussels, is reported to be now awaiting the Emperor there to resign the embassy, has, I believe, if you have been at Brussels, already sent to see you, such is his regard for you, as I understood from him when he travelled this way in his hasty journey to his mission. I have heard from his brother's son, who is said to be the apple of his eye, that he is fond of studying your books so far as he can steal time from his necessary business; and I have myself seen your edition of the New Testament, open in his inner chamber.

* * *

That you may not suspect the King's wish to be a whim rather than a deliberate and fixed resolution,—the same prelate told me, when we were talking of you and of writers of the greatest note, that the King was much interested in literature of the higher and more elegant kind, and had

conferred with him on the subject of seeking out men of eminent learning. I then said that you might be induced to come to France by an honourable remuneration, and promised that, if the occasion arose, I would undertake the matter, and carry it into effect ; adding that you had long studied at Paris, and were as well acquainted with France as you were with the locality of your earliest childhood. The Bishop, so far as I can tell, will be a good friend to you, and he has himself the greatest influence with the King, being invited to his secret counsels among the few whom the ancients used to call *apolecti* and *selecti*.

You will decide about this matter, and write, either to me, or to somebody else, if you think there is anyone more friendly to you than I ; so that, if you accept these terms, I mean make up your mind to accept them, a new and more explicit engagement may be procured from the King, principally by his means by whose persuasion I have written to you. For I am most anxious myself, that the transaction should be carried out without any risk to you. I think that William Cop, the King's physician, a man learned in both tongues, and a friend and well-wisher of yours, will write to you about it ; and perhaps others will do so by the King's command ; or even the King himself. It is curious how the tribe of William is devoted to you and to Letters. You have now three Williams at your service in the same business. But our Parisian Stephen (whose name is a Crown †), if he has spoken to you, as I hope he has, has brought a happy omen for the successful handling of our enterprise. However that may be, if you write to the King himself a letter of thanks, you will do what will gratify him, and bring credit to yourelf. * *

Paris, 5 February, [1517].‡

† Greek, *στέφανος*. Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris. See p. 471.

‡ Parisijs nonis Februarij. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

The letter addressed to Erasmus on the same occasion by William Cop, King Francis's physician, is dated a day later than the last epistle. Its concise directness is in contrast to the diffuseness and self-consciousness of Budé.

EPISTLE 506. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 121; Ep. i. 17; C. 171 (198).

William Cop to Erasmus.

Pray believe, that the only reason why I have not answered the letters with which you have so often challenged me, has been my bad scholarship, which blushed to obtrude itself on your learned ears. This might have been easily understood without my saying it, but at the present moment the King's Majesty forces me to break silence.

What the matter is, I will explain in a few words. Dr. William Petit, the King's Confessor, a zealous advocate of your fame, and Abbot Francis Rochefort, formerly the King's tutor, who has always sounded your praises among our nobility,—both approached the King at service time, and persuaded him to invite you to France. Thereupon the King, being aware of your supreme erudition, has commanded me to write you a letter, to sound your inclination, —whether you will consent to live in France, and with what terms you will be satisfied. The most Christian King promises, if you make up your mind to live with us here, to maintain you so liberally that you will never have occasion to regret such a resolution. Please to answer accordingly.

I have not yet been able to see your Aphorisms. Farewell.

Paris, 6 Feb. [1517].*

* Luteciæ octauo idus Februarias. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

Epistles 507 and 508, were probably despatched on the same day from Ghent. It appears from Epistle 507, that this was Clava's first letter to Erasmus;* and that a letter received a short time before, which has not been preserved, was the first letter of Erasmus to him. The references to the latter in Clava's reply furnish some idea of its contents.

EPISTLE 507. Epist. s. q. eleg. 142; Ep. i. 26; C. 1788 (400).

Antony Clava to Erasmus.

That I have not written to you before, most learned Erasmus, is to be ascribed partly to the sad death of my sister, who expired shortly before I received your letter; and in some measure to the intense coldness of the weather. I am at the best a poor letter-writer; and the cold has made me so lazy, and slovenly and yawning, that I might well seem, as the saying is, to have eaten nothing but game.† But what have you to say? Have you any right to find fault with my prolonged silence, when you have not before, as far as I know, sent any letter or greeting to your Clava, who scarcely ventures to break in upon the studies, in which he knows you to be most happily employed?

You ask what Robert Cæsar is about. He is now strenuously attacking Cæsarean Law, a science which he will be bound in future most vigorously and constantly to defend. He too, as he told me some time ago, has written to Erasmus, from whom he is very anxious to receive an answer.

We want that amusing book of Thomas More about the new island of *Utopia*, and are expecting it every hour, having ordered a bookseller to send us a copy as soon as he can.

* The letter which has been described as Epistle 432, dated 3 August (with the year date, 1516, added in the Deventer MS.), may be better attributed to the year 1517, when Erasmus was at Louvain. See p. 311.

† See *Adagia*, Chil. II. Cent. vi. Prov. 61. De fera comedisti. It seems to have been a common belief that eating game made people yawn.

As to your only sowing, as you say, in ignorance what harvest you may reap, I bid you to be hopeful. You have to do with a Chancellor, who is a most cultivated scholar, and with a King, not only favorably disposed to all good and learned men, but also most munificent. With such persons to rely upon, what reason can you see for despair? In return for the spiritual and divine seed, which you do not cease to sow, I do not doubt that, whether you wish it or not, you will reap, if I may use the Apostle's language, those worldly and carnal fruits in sufficient abundance.

For the rest, Cæsar sends his best wishes, and Clava commends himself to your loyalty. That you will commend us both to our common patron, the King's most excellent Chancellor, is our request and our prayer. Farewell, most learned Erasmus.

Ghent, 6 February, [1517.]*

The following short note of Robert Cæsar appears to have been sent, as a sort of postscript, with Clava's epistle, which is mentioned in it. It has no date of day, but like Clava's letter, it contains an allusion to the extreme coldness of the weather.

Epistle 508. Deventer MS.; C. 1586 (102).

Robert Cæsar to Erasmus.

Hail, most honeyed Erasmus. I should like to know, whether you have received my trifles. You refresh my mind when you say in your letter to Clava: It is natural that he should do something worthy of Cæsar! But I do not know to what you allude. As for Clava having written back, that I am strenuously embracing my law, that is no more strange, than if he told you that all the people of Ghent are cold. I never was more ashamed of my name and of my ample house

* Gandaui, octauo idus Februarij. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

than I am to-day. Not having been able for a second period of three years to find a tenant to share it, by the usual luck, as people say, another cold season comes to pinch and prick us, and forces me to abide wholly in my empty "Lynx," comforting myself in my poverty like a snail in his shell. To this you now add by way of salt, that you could not find an opportunity of presenting my respects to my lord Chancellor. I shall thaw after a time, and then Cæsar will write to you; it is now Robert that writes.

Ghent, from the Lynx [February] 1516.*

While the letters of Budé and Cop (Epistles 505, 506) were on their way from Paris, Erasmus had been in personal communication at Brussels with Bishop Poncher, the ambassador of Francis I. at King Charles's Court (see p. 471), from whom he received similar overtures.

Erasmus, while at Court, being one of Charles's Council, could not escape being drawn more than he desired into the stream of political affairs. There was also a suspicion of plague in the town; and in the second week of February he prepared to withdraw to Antwerp. Before leaving Brussels he received letters from two old acquaintances, complaining of his backwardness in answering their letters. One of these was an Englishman, Thomas Grey, who had been his pupil some twenty years before (see vol. i. p. 115), now married and father of a family; the other a Frenchman, named Peter Vitré, to whom Erasmus had dedicated his short treatise, *de Ratione Studii*.†

Grey and Vitré appear to have been at this time together at Paris, the latter having been expelled from Calais, probably owing to a jealousy of his nationality. We may conjecture, that he was now engaged as instructor to Grey's son. It may be observed that Erasmus retained to the end of his life a sincere regard for Vitré, to whom he left a legacy by his will. On the eve of his departure from Brussels he found time to write a few lines addressed to both these friends.

* Gandavo ex Lynce, Anno 1516. C.

† *Catalogus Lucubrationum*, Jortin, ii. 420; Epistles 251, 490, pp. 70, 449.

EPISTLE 509. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 127; Ep. i. 22; C. 171 (199).

Erasmus to Thomas Grey and Peter Vitré.

Your letters, filled with complaints of my not writing, reached me on the same day. Beside these last expostulatory and even reproachful communications, I have received only two from you (that is, one from each) which I have not hitherto answered, though, if I am not mistaken, I sent my compliments to you in a letter to Bade. I do not love you the less, if I write less frequently, being so distracted, partly by these Court troubles, partly by the cruelty of Fortune, and a little by my studies, that I am scarcely my own master. I am now writing in very bad health,—not a mere cold, but more properly the plague, which has already attacked many here.

As for your deploring, my dearest Vitré, your having been sent by me out there * in order to deprive you of my society, you know yourself that you were expelled from Calais by the malice of some individuals, a conclusion which I for my part always expected. And I would that your fortune now were such as I should desire; though it is something to live in one's own country, especially such a country as yours. And you will make your lot more tolerable, if you will that to be, which is. If however there is anything in which you require my assistance, make the experiment, whether I am the same Erasmus I have always been. As for letter-writing, I cannot answer everybody, even if I did nothing else.

I cannot tell you, my dearest Grey, how warmly I welcome your kind interest and affection. I heartily congratulate you on your son's disposition. As for your own mind being mainly concerned with religion, that is, with the means of living a

* istuc. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

happy life and of dying a happier death, you take a wise course and consult your best interests. You however will have the advantage of surviving in your children, to whom you are doubly a father, since, not content with having brought them into this world, you are endeavouring to lead them to a better.

Farewell to you both. As you are equally dear to me, and dear to each other, I have ventured to join you in the same letter.

Brussels, 13 Feb. 1517.*

If the above date is correct, Erasmus appears to have left Brussels on the same day, or on the following morning, his next letter being addressed to Bishop Poncher from Antwerp on the 14th of February.† In this letter Erasmus declines an invitation to the French Court, which had been sent to him by the Bishop of Paris in the name of King Francis I.; and takes the opportunity of recommending to the Bishop his friend, Henry Glarean, who, as we have already seen (p. 386), was not unwilling to seek his fortune in France.

EPISTLE 510. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 13; Ep. i. 5; C. 231 (235).

Erasmus to Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris.

Most Reverend Father and illustrious Ambassador, the realm of France is beyond doubt the most flourishing country in Christendom; but to me it appears to be specially fortunate in possessing a Prince, not only Most Christian of title, but abundantly endowed with all royal

* Bruxellæ idibus Februarijs. Anno M.D.XVI.

† Erasmus was already proposing to leave Brussels on the 20th of January (Epistl. 497, p. 457), but had been detained for a while by illness. See p. 467.

accomplishments ; and as he is the flower of his age, we may well hope, that your country, and we its neighbours and friends, may long enjoy this happy possession. Your king, in his late conflict with the Swiss, has sufficiently shown, that while he is fully prepared for war, he still prefers peace. He is more intent upon enriching and adorning his country by the best laws, the purest morality, the most honorable studies, than on extending its frontiers, judging that the greatness and happiness of his kingdom depends, not so much on the number as on the excellence of his subjects. Among the most distinguished of these is William Cop, the champion and high priest of medieval science, who is claimed as her own by Germany as well as Gaul ; and William Budé, the undoubted glory of the latter, who, by the general consent of all the learned, has snatched from Italy the palm of both literatures, and so surpasses all others in the eloquence of his Roman speech, as in his Greek diction to surpass himself.* Your king nevertheless is daily endeavouring to attract learned men from foreign countries into his kingdom, recalling in this, as in other respects, the example, long since obsolete, of ancient princes of renown. Among those whom he has thus deigned to notice, he had included me, and I am well aware how much I owe to his condescension. Would that I were capable of responding to the good opinion of so excellent a prince. The simplicity of some admirers overwhelms me with such praises as I can neither acknowledge without being most impudent, nor maintain, unless I were far different from what I know myself to be. For the rest, your France, as it has always been dear to me for other reasons, is especially agreeable to me, because I spent several years of leisure there most

* Sic cæteros omnes uincens in Romani sermonis eloquentia ut in Græca dictione uincat seipsum. *Epist. s. q. elog.* Is Erasmus laughing in his sleeve?

pleasantly, in the study of Letters. But the time of life I have now reached is discouraging to a change of locality, so that, even if I had not chosen my seat here, I should have to sit still wherever old age might find me. Beside this, I am tied by the kindness of my sovereign and by that inclination to promote the best studies, in which he agrees so well with your king, that he seems to be running a race with him for this distinction. There is therefore for the present no certain answer to be made, except that I fully recognise the king's goodness to me, and return the same thanks, as if I had at once accepted the favour which he offers ; and that at some future time I shall not fail to comply with the will of so great a sovereign pressing me with his own unsolicited generosity, if it may be done without offence to loyalty and propriety. If this may not be, I shall reckon myself no less indebted to France ; and you will take it in good part, if I do not undertake what is beyond my power. I cannot divide this small body of mine among all my friends ; my mind and its products I can.

Meantime, when I see the King's Highness and your Fatherhood so intent upon furnishing your country with men of eminence in virtue and learning, my mind turns to one who was intimately known to me at Basel,—Henry of Glaris,—a person of all others, in my opinion, most suitable for your purpose. I will draw his likeness in a few lines, but true to the life. A Swiss by origin (for that nation like others, is beginning to unite the glory of learning with its military renown), in the prime of life,—not having passed out of his thirtieth year,—in perfect health, and with an unusual capacity for work, he has spent several years in the profession of the liberal sciences, first at Cologne, and afterwards at Basel, and that with the greatest distinction. He is Doctor of the Seven Arts, as they call them, and that not in title only, as is usual with the mass of their professors.

He was most skilful in Sophistic science,* but now, having reached discretion, he has turned his back upon that, and become its enemy. As for Theology, he has not only made his bow in the threshold of her temple, but had penetrated to its inmost recesses, until, offended partly by those chill subtleties, which win almost all the applause in our schools, and partly by the interminable contention and disagreement of theologians among themselves, he stepped back, and preferred to draw the waters of Christ from the fountain-head rather than from their channels. For this purpose he has begun to devote himself with great energy to the study of Greek.

He is a poet of some elegance, for in this capacity, when very young, he was decorated with the laurel at Cologne by the emperor Maximilian. His prose is not lacking in talent or erudition, though you may sometimes observe a want of practice and exercise. His knowledge of history is extensive; while in Music, in Cosmography, and in the sciences which are termed Mathematical he is most expert; for it is in that sphere that he chiefly reigns.

I should mention here a merit that is unusual in this class of people. His character is so chaste and pure, that not his inclinations only, but even his ears shrink from any indecent allusion, being an ardent devotee of true piety. Not Momus himself could note any fault in him, except that he is wont to inveigh with unrestrained freedom of language against 'thorny Sophists'; † if this indeed is to be treated as a fault, and not rather attributed to his judgment; for you know how insolent and provoking people of that class are, unless their studies have been united with a better sort of literature. With these opponents our Glarean fights with

* Sophistices peritissimus. I understand Erasmus to refer to the Scholastic philosophy.

† in spinosos Sophistas.

no less spirit than Hercules fought with monsters ; and however noisy they may be, he is not failing in lungs or voice, and least of all, in an invincible and truly Herculean courage. For this reason he is not much in favour with theologians, I do not mean the learned theologians, with whom he agrees perfectly, but with some of that class, who have learned nothing but illiterate Letters and barren questions. These he routs and cuts to pieces all the more easily, for having passed some time in their camp. But even this warm and impulsive enthusiasm is daily becoming more moderate under the influence of age.

His natural character is far removed from arrogance and self-conceit ; his manners being most easy, and adapted to all the intercourse of life. Ask him to sing, and he will do so without any affectation ; if you prefer reading, he will read. If you are in a playful humour, his conversation will be most amusing ; turn to a serious subject, and he will be at once another person ; and yet with all his facility, he is incapable of adulation.

If you wish to know my friend's condition, he is entirely free, not enslaved by lust or love of money, not tied to a wife, nor bound by any vows except those of baptism. He lately wrote to me, that he expected to obtain a yearly salary in France from the Royal Exchequer, as soon as peace was concluded between you and the Swiss. I am very glad, that the latter event has now taken place. If he has obtained the position he expected, I beg your kind notice of him, when you will see whether I have drawn a false likeness of him. If he has not come, you will use your influence to procure his engagement on honourable terms. I know what his accomplishments deserve, but as he is most modest, he will, I believe, be satisfied with a hundred crowns a year, which, take my word for it, will not be ill spent. I know how right Horace is in warning us to look

twice, whom we recommend, and to whom; but in this instance I have not the slightest fear

Lest others' sins may cause me shame.*

Those whose recommendation is adopted are generally the parties to return thanks; but I expect, to receive thanks myself, when my Glarean becomes as well known to you as he is to me. If you wish me to do anything in the matter, issue your command. For (not to omit in passing to say a good word for myself) he will fly more willingly and quickly, if summoned by a letter from me, especially if I draw a likeness of you to him, as I have of him to you. But hark you, my lord, he must not be sent for by empty letters; a *viaticum* should be added in part payment of whatever else is promised. See how familiarly I am treating you, as if I forgot your lordship's high position; but it is your own kindness that has so spoiled me, as to teach me this want of respect, which you must either ignore entirely, or else take no small part of the blame of it upon yourself. Farewell.

Antwerp, 14 February, 1517.†

The following day (15 February) is the date affixed to a letter of Erasmus to Budé, which may perhaps have been partly written at Brussels. It appears to have been finished and sent off from Antwerp before the receipt of Budé's letter of the 5th, the fair copy sent to Paris having been transcribed by Peter Gillis, as Erasmus mentions at the end of Epistle 515. It contains a good deal of personal matter; but it is not proposed to give more than a few extracts from a letter, which in its full dimensions is of the length of a pamphlet. After some exclamations over the learning, wit and eloquence of Budé's last letter, which, the writer observes, could not be enjoyed by many persons, for want of readers capable of understanding two learned

* Incutiant aliena mihi peccata pudorem. Horat. *Epist.* I. xviii. 77.

† Antuerpiæ decimo sexto Calen. Mar. Anno M.D.X.VII. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

tongues, he refers, in our first short extract, to Tunstall. In a later clause he speaks of the effect which Age has had upon his own manner of thinking and writing.

EPISTLE 511. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 76; Ep. i. 12; C. 172 (200).

Erasmus to Budé.

* * * * *

At any rate Cuthbert Tunstall,—whose one judgment is as good to me as that of any parliament, however numerous,—was so taken, so captivated, so fascinated by your epistle, that he did not so much read as devour it. He read it indeed over and over again, and some strong language was required to tear it out of his hands. Had he not been suddenly called away by Prince Charles to meet the Emperor Maximilian, and presently overwhelmed with a deluge of business, he was on the point of writing to you himself. * * *

You think that age has made me more frugal in my style. I do not dispute it, neither is it anything wonderful, if the same thing happens to me, as we see occurred to Isocrates, to Lysimachus, and to Cicero himself. I trust that the increase of age may have the same effect upon me, as it had upon them, and make my speech not only more temperate, but better; although if you and I choose to weigh our ages, there is not much difference between them, unless we are, either of us, mistaken in our calculation. For I am now in my fifty-first year,† and you, as you write, are not far from your forty-eighth. Although therefore I am much more aged than you, I am not so much older.‡ But I will tell you in confidence, what it is, that makes my style considerably worse. You know how one's style is improved by reading, just as a

† As to Erasmus's age, see Appendix V. to my former volume.

‡ Mihi igitur longe plus senii est quam tibi, senectutis non ita multum.

field is fertilized by manure; and ploughed land is allowed to lie fallow every other year to prevent its becoming barren from constant tillage. But I have now for many years been exhausting this unlucky plot of mine, not naturally fertile, by perpetual cultivation, without relieving it by any intermission or by the cheering influence of reading. For that hasty reading, by which the Adages and the notes to the New Testament and Jerome were compiled, is so far from invigorating the mind, that there is scarcely anything that is so detrimental both to memory and to intellectual acuteness. Then the very nature of the subject rejects all majesty of expression. You are fortunate yourself in having made choice of a subject, which serves as a suitable field or theatre, upon which you may give the world a sample of your rare erudition and eloquence. It has been my lot to deal with the matters I have described, whereas there is absolutely no kind of writing for which I was naturally less fitted. And yet, when once I found myself among them, I had to accommodate myself to the play and to the scene. Some subjects again I have undertaken at the request of friends, so that up to this day it has scarcely ever been my lot to perform on my own stage, or to minister to my own genius, if any genius at all is mine. * * *

That I may not reproach you with impunity for being "unable to take your hand off the picture," you return the accusation by charging me with being unduly fond of Proverbial speech.† But I do not quite understand, whether you find fault with the excessive use of adages, or the over-careful and whimsical collecting of them. I remember and admit, that I was wont at one time to *use* this sort of language too ostentatiously; but I became conscious of the habit after a while, and began to employ it more frugally. As to the collecting of Proverbs, I was made more ambi-

† These passages are omitted in our translation of Budé's letter. See C. 216A., 205D.

tious, partly by Robert Gaguin, who, intimating to me his own opinion under a mask, told me that *the Critics* found fault with me for being so extremely meagre in that first collection, and having, out of so large a number, passed so few under review. Another hint I received from Polydore Vergil, a man of learning, with whom I am now on very friendly terms, who was declaring everywhere that I was treading in his footsteps, the rival of his work and not the author of my own, whereas I had published that little book, such as it was, several years before I knew Polydore's name, and when at last I obtained a copy of his book, the very printer's inscription shewed that I had anticipated him by several months, his work being published in Italy and mine at Paris.† And yet a certain Lucas Sauromata, a theologian of Louvain, whose only reason for hostility to Letters was that he had, for many years and in spite of the displeasure of the Muses, paid unsuccessful court to them, insisted on asserting that I made a show by means of what had been invented by another. Being only too anxious to escape from these criticisms, I appear to have fallen into the opposite pitfall, and instead of meagre became excessive; though it was not my wish to sweep everything into a promiscuous register, but rather to reject many sayings, which were nevertheless contained in the Greek Collectanea, because I suspected that some were derived from the dregs of the population of the time, and some inspired more by ingenuity than judgment. * * *

I have ventured to write to Deloin, being so lovingly challenged by him, and so conjured by you, that I thought it would be sinful not to comply. * * *

I am amused with what you say about 'gilding' and 'voluntary slavery.' You are either singularly ignorant of

† As to the precedence of Polydore Vergil's collection of Proverbs, see our first volume, p. 242. There were several early editions of Polydore's work.

my character, or very crafty in hiding your knowledge. Up to now it has been seed-time with me ; what harvest I shall reap is doubtful. I am still living on my own juice, like a snail, or rather like a polypus feeding myself by gnawing my own arms. But I have had the promise of a salary from the Prince's treasury, and one prebend has been already given me, which I have exchanged for an annual pension. But oh, the endless crowd of vultures ! And I could be anything sooner than a vulture. If my mind could be diverted from Letters, either my failing health would long have diverted it, or the jealousy of ignorant babblers, by whose pertinacity I have been almost stoned.

You have just reason to complain of your letters being incorrectly printed. I was myself very angry about it ; but we have this one printer, who is about as good as we deserve.† However, those letters were edited by Peter Gillis, actuary of the Senate of Antwerp, a man of learning and politeness. who is specially interested in your reputation.‡ I was not in truth in his confidence, though I suspected what he was about, and was rather a conniving than a consenting party, being desirous that your letters at any rate should be read by all the learned, if only in the hope, that your marked pre-eminence might rouse our countrymen from their lethargy, and that the profound sleep, which prevails here, might be dispelled by the brilliant evidence of your wakefulness. * *

You will now see how far it answers to challenge Erasmus to write a prolix epistle ; and that you may be the more afraid of doing so in future, I will add a tailpiece to my letter. There are some Italians here, who were struck by the seeming arrogance of the few words that you have inscribed in the title-page of your *de Asse*, μωμήσασθαι

† Sed unicum hunc habemus τυπογράφον καὶ τοῦτον γε ἄξιον ἡμῶν. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

‡ See as to the editing of the *Epistolæ aliquot*, p. 408.

ταῦτα ῥᾷον ἐστὶν ἢ μιμήσασθαι, (these writings are more easily censured than imitated)—picking holes in Venus's sandal when they could find nothing to blame in her person. I said it was not worth while to cavil at what had perhaps been added by the printer out of his own head; they had better attack the work itself, in which if they loosened a single stone, the whole structure would fall. See with what confidence your care and industry have inspired me, when I am not afraid of challenging anybody even to attack you, with a view to increase your glory. I should not like to have it done to me!

I had already sent you a short letter as an earnest of this;* which, though it has followed somewhat late, you would say had been quickly despatched, if you knew how ill I have been for several days with a cold, that has been almost a common plague in these parts, and from which I have taken a month to recover. Frequent shifting of residence has added to the difficulty. Farewell, most learned of friends, and most friendly of the learned.

Antwerp, 15 February, 1516-7.†

The following letter, addressed to Francis Deloin at Paris, in answer to Epistle 484, has in the printed copy the date, Antuerpiæ nono Calendas Martias (21 February); but as it is mentioned in the letter to Budé (Epistle 511, p. 486), it is here placed with that letter which is also mentioned in it, p. 490. In the first clauses Erasmus expresses the pleasure which it gave him to correspond with Budé's learned friends, and his mixed feeling of satisfaction and shame, when he found that his literary performances had been studied in such a learned circle. The *Catholicon* of Joannes de Janua, and a book called *Mammetractus* or *Mammotrectus*, which was printed at Strasburg in 1475, and often reprinted, were works of authority in the fifteenth century.

* No recent letter of Erasmus to Budé has been preserved.

† Antuerpiæ decimoquinto calendas Martias Anno M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. eleg.*

EPISTLE 512. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 107; Ep. i. 14; C. 183 (202).

Erasmus to Francis Deloin.

* * * *

I am inclined to cry out, that we did not write those works for Deloins, that is, for better than Lælii and Persii;† they were compiled for the raw recruits of the literary army, or for some such dull and unlettered divines as had had before to fly to *Catholicarii* and *Mammetrectarii*, as to Apollo's tripod, and to fly in vain. It was upon the Cimmerian darkness of such people as these that we tried to let in a little light. Why should you lords and magnates intrude upon this plebeian meal? It was not for such palates, that these dishes of herbs were cooked. I see too plainly, how much more anxious my labours will become, if I publish anything in future.

When some months ago I spoke of you to Colet, he immediately recognized the name of Deloin, and appeared to be delighted with the recollection of your old intimacy.

Nicolas Bérauld has made a witty allusion in his postscript to the *hospitalis tessera*.‡ I remember, when I was at Orleans on my way to Italy, how I enjoyed his hospitality, and was most kindly entertained at his house for several days. I seem to hear even now that distinct but voluble utterance, a pleasantly ringing and musical voice, and speech at the same time ready and correct, to see that

† Mitis sapientia Laeli. (Horat.) Sat. II. i. 72. C. Lælius is a speaker in more than one dialogue of Cicero. Persius is, I presume, the author of the learned and somewhat obscure Satires, who lived some generations later.

‡ Bérauld's postcript (Epistle 485) concludes with the words, id quod hospitalis cujuspiam tesseræ loco tibi fuerit. This phraseology ought to have been more distinctly noticed in p. 441. The *hospitalis tessera* is assumed to have served the purpose of a visiting card.

friendly face expressing an abundance of kindness without a trace of pride, those manners so charming, easy, and accommodating. He went so far as to offer me, when I was going away, a vest of silk as a keepsake, which he would scarcely allow me to refuse. I am therefore delighted to recognize his *hospitalis tessera*. I cheerfully accept his salutation, and return it with interest.

If you find fault with this letter as not copious enough, pray read the one which we have sent to Budé, and you will cease to complain. Since the rule is laid down, that everything is common among friends, whatever letters are addressed to him, you will reckon to be also addressed to you.

Farewell, incomparable patron. Be so good as to greet Ruzé in my name.

Antwerp, [15] February, [1517].*

Epistle 513, with the verses inclosed in it, appears to have followed Erasmus to Antwerp. The writer of the letter, Ricardo Bartolini, a native of Perugia, was almoner to Cardinal Gurck, archbishop of Salzburg, in whose suite he was now at Brussels. Bartolini had already published, in September, 1515, the Itinerary of Cardinal Gurck upon a diplomatic mission in that year to the courts of Poland and Hungary.†

EPISTLE 513. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 173; Ep. i. 36; C. 223 (218).

Bartolini to Erasmus.

I should have come to see you, sweetest Erasmus, if I had not been prevented by receiving a message announcing your intended departure the next day. Still I do not like you to be robbed of the eulogy which belongs to you, and

* Antuerpiæ nono Calendas Martias. *Epist. s. q. eleg.* As to this date, see p. 488.

† *Odeporion idest Itinerarium Mathei S. Angeli Cardinalis Gurcensis* etc. Viennæ Id. Sept. M.D.XV. This rare volume is in the British Museum.

therefore send herewith a long and elegant poem, which was written in honour of your birthday. The author is Gaspar Velius, a young scholar with no mean knowledge both of Latin and Greek Letters, who is attached to our Court, and most devoted to your name. He wrote to me to suppress any lines* that might be infelicitously expressed. I read them all rapidly through ; and on looking at them a second time more carefully, took note of some at the very commencement ;—not that they seemed fit subjects for my castigation, but that your own judgment should come at once upon them, if any final correction is to be made. I could not myself undertake the office, and the burden falls on you (the verses having been written in honour of your birthday), to make them as perfect as possible. Nevertheless, as to their cleverness I venture to say, that I have not found in all Germany any person who is a match for their author. Farewell, and let me and Paul sometimes have a share in your correspondence.

[Brussels, February, 1517].

The above letter, which is followed in the collection of epistles by a long poem, entitled, *G. Vrsini Velii Slesii Germani Genethliacon Erasmi*, has no date ; but the answer of Erasmus to Bartolini, Epistle 529, is dated from Antwerp on the 10th of March, 1516 (1517). The birthday ode we may presume to have been written in the preceding autumn. In Epistle 529 mention is made of Paulus Ricius,—the Paul of the above letter,—a scholar whom Erasmus had formerly met at Pavia, where he appears to have been in November, 1506. See vol. i. pp. 417, 418. Rizio was apparently now with Bartolini at Brussels in the suite of Cardinal Gurck. See p. 520.

* ut lineas subjicerem. Perhaps correct or alter. The verb seems scarcely appropriate.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Residence at Antwerp. Letters to Clava, King Francis I., the Bishop of Bayeux, Fabritius Capito, Latimer and others. February and March, 1517. *Epistles* 514-535.

The following letter, which replies to Epistle 507, is the first letter of Erasmus to this correspondent which has been preserved. Two letters of Clava to Erasmus—Epistles 432, 507 have been already noticed. The Robert mentioned in Epistle 514 was no doubt Robert Cæsar, a neighbour of Clava at Ghent.

EPISTLE 514. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 144; i. 27; C. 1788 (401).

Erasmus to Antonius Clava.

I might endeavour to console you upon your sister's death, if I were not persuaded that the disease which in others is cured by Time, is in your case already laid to rest by your own wisdom. For ourselves, we have been so distracted, on the one hand by sickness, on another by a multitude of work, and also by frequent change of residence, that I have scarcely been my own master. And yet with all this, Clava has never been out of my mind, the most distinguished patron of men of letters, as he is himself most practised in them; and we have written to him more than once.

I approve of our Robert's versatility, and think that by trying everything he will at last succeed in something! He has sent me,—not a letter, but, as he calls it himself, a tragedy,—a very Iliad of woes; but even this he had seasoned in

a marvellous way with jests and fun. But I do not yet know to which I am less obliged,—to the hand which has torn me in so unfriendly a way, or to that which in an excess of friendship has publicly lauded me, or, in other words, has traduced me, and made me invidious. There is nothing that offends people so much, as immoderate praise, which we do not tolerate even in the case of the greatest men, whose merits ought to be out of reach of envy. No wonder then, if it is condemned in the case of one like myself, below mediocrity! Indeed it is to your laudation that I owe the frenzied attack made on me by that parson. "Unseasonable partiality is no better than hostility." * According to the poets, not Jupiter himself satisfies everybody, whether it be wet or fine! We have done our best, and will still endeavour, to give satisfaction to all; meantime I am consoled by this reflection, that at any rate we are not disapproved by the best men, and may perhaps be approved by all, when after death Envy shall be laid to rest.

When you read More's book about Utopia, you will find yourself suddenly transported into another world; so new is everything about you.

As for the harvest you speak of,† I have no anxiety, provided the cost does not exceed the return. There is enough to satisfy my mind and all the leisure I have, and this life will soon shoot itself away.‡ The burden of fame I shall readily cast off, and am almost ready to give my vote for the sentence of Epicurus, λάθε βιώσας, Live without being seen. I am reminded, that your letters should by this time be half-Greek, ὃς τρίτον ἤδη ἔτος ἑλληνίζεις,—you have been Hellenizing for more than two years. Take the trouble

* Quod parochus ille sic in me debacchatus est, præconi isti meo debeo. Ἄκαιρος εὔνοια οὐδὲν ἔχθρας διαφέρει.

† See p. 475.

‡ Et hæc vita mox ἐκτετοξεύσεται (read ἐκτοξεύσεται).

to salute Cæsar in my name. The Chancellor is heartily your friend. Farewell.

Antwerp [February, 1517].*

Guy Morillon (afterwards secretary to Charles V.), to whom M. Nève has devoted some pages in his *Renaissance en Belgique*, pp. 214-223, was at this time on intimate terms with Petrus Barbirius (Pierre Barbier), the Secretary of the Chancellor of Burgundy. The person called in the following letter the Divine, or the Indian Divine (Theologus, Theologus Indicus), I take to be Barbier himself, who, like other statesmen of his time, was an ecclesiastic, and therefore by profession, though not by occupation, a theologian; and we know from a letter of Erasmus, that he had some preferment in the Indies, from which he drew a considerable income, though he knew nothing of the place. See p. 401. Hence the title, also attributed to him, of Dean of Utopia, a locality utterly strange to him; the persons who formed the circle of Erasmus at this time had their heads full of More's new fiction. But if I read this letter right, a great part of its interest arises from its containing an allusion to the satirical dialogue entitled *Julius cœlis exclusus*, which is obscurely attributed to Erasmus. See pp. 448, 449. This allusion was so little understood by the editor of the Epistles, that the word, which we read *Julius*, is printed *Tulius*.

Epistle 515. C. 1591 (114).

Guy Morillon to Erasmus.

Our Divine, being prevented by his sudden departure from answering your letter, has imposed this duty upon me. Indeed he has appointed me Dean of Utopia during his absence, and has even entrusted his theological staff to my keeping, so that it lies with me either to close or open the doors of preferment. The Fates are to blame that I alone am shut out. You see, my lord, how important a person he

* Antuerpiæ. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

must be, by whose absence it comes to pass that I have become so great a man. Whichever way I walk, I am saluted with kindness or accosted with reverence; I am invited to dinner, and constantly asked, what has been done in this or that affair. Packets of letters come crowding in from all quarters. In fact your Guy is become a man of business, in other words he is become the Divine; only about the ducats there is a marvellous silence. They think perhaps that this part of the business does not belong to the Utopian Vicar. * *

How much we were entertained with *Julius*, whom we hailed with constant laughter,† how cleverly, how wittily, and, in a word, how Erasmically he is made to keep up the contest with Peter,‡ is more easily understood than explained. There is no limit to the Chancellor's appreciation of him.

The latter was off at six o'clock this morning with the Seigneur de Chièvres and the Indian Divine for Cambrai. They will return in a few days, unless the agreement is made between the kings, which we expect to proceed as far as a personal interview; in which case they will remain at Cambrai to wait on the Emperor and our King.

I shall give the works of Jerome to-day to your host Martin, as the Divine has directed, to be forwarded to you with the rest of the luggage. I desire to be remembered to your present host, Peter Gillis and his wife, and to the rest of the family, especially to John. Our spouse sends her good wishes. Farewell, my lord.

Brussels, 18 Feb. 1517.§

The respectful formality of the above address is probably due to

† Quantum nobis arriserit Tulius, cui perpetuo risu parentavimus.

‡ Cum Petro contendere visus sit. St. Peter is the collocutor with Pope Julius in the *Julius Exclusus*.

§ Bruxellis 18. Februarii, Anno 1517. C.

Erasmus's position as a Privy Councillor of the Flemish Court. The John is probably John Smith, his English servant.*

Six days after the date of Epistle 511, Erasmus was compelled to write to Budé again, having meantime received his letter, Epistle 505 containing a message from Francis I.

EPISTLE 516. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 117; Ep. i. 16; C. 184 (203)

Erasmus to William Budé.

I had scarcely got well clear of that most loquacious epistle, which, judging from the fatigue I had in writing it will I fear give you some trouble to read,—I had scarcely set my seal to that, when your other letter comes to hand, in which you signify the pleasure of the most Christian King concerning me. To this I must reply laconically, both for fear of killing both you and myself by my loquacity, and also because I have several other letters to write. The King's purpose, worthy, as it is indeed, of a Soverign, and of such a Sovereign, I appreciate and welcome as it deserves. The magnificent opinion he has formed of me, I owe principally to you, that is to friends, who pourtray me to him not as I am, but as you would have me supposed to be; and this you certainly do at no small risk, not only to me, but to yourselves. Nevertheless the same proposal had been already pressed upon me in the King's name by his illustrious envoy, the Bishop of Paris, a person whom you pourtray no less truly than graphically in your letter. It would be tedious to embrace in an epistle (after the fashion of counsel's opinion) what circumstances are favourable and what unfavourable to this project. I see what your advice is, and regard it as all the more auspicious, because it comes

* See pp. 88, 380.

from a person, not only most wise, but most loving; for I think that, if the Greek proverb, ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα (enemies' gifts, no gifts at all), applies anywhere, it is to the case of advice. But while in this matter I admit my deep obligation to you all, and especially to the most munificent and excellent King, I cannot for the present make any certain answer, until I have taken counsel with the Chancellor of Burgundy, who is now absent on his way to Cambrai. While I am weighing the matter more carefully in my own mind, and asking the opinion of friends, he will, I hope, come back; and as soon as I know what his views are, I will inform you of my whole purpose. For the present I shall only say this, that France has on many accounts been always dear to me, and is now recommended to me by nothing so much as by its possession of Budé! But you have no reason to treat me as an alien, for, if Cosmographers are to be believed, Holland also belongs to Gaul.

You call attention to a circumstance, which has often struck me as singular,—that, whether by a sort of destiny or by accident, I have always been greatly in favour with the clan that bears the name of William. When I was scarcely ten years old, I was very fond of a playfellow of that name. Again at fifteen, I had a friend of my own age, who was dearer to me than myself. He was succeeded by William Herman, a learned man, whose hymns I think you have seen. Next came William Mountjoy, my most constant Mæcenas. Then there was William Latimer, a person not inferior to Linacre in his mastery of both literatures, a true theologian, that is, at once most candid and most learned, and specially friendly to me. Then William Grocin, whose epistle, appended to the *Sphere* of Proclus, you have.* But

* I presume that a commendatory epistle of Grocin was printed with one of the editions of Linacre's translation of the *Sphere* of Proclus; but I have not seen this edition.

how many Williams are matched by that one William, arch bishop of Canterbury! Beside these there is William Cop whose whole being I so love, that his very name cheers me Of yourself I cannot speak so freely to your face. But find myself richer than I reckoned. I was not aware tha that distinguished divine, William Petit,—little by name but great by his eminent qualities,—was so much my friend And stay! I have not yet counted all my Williams! There i William Nesen at Basel, a most ardent student of the bes literature, who is so singularly devoted to me, that I migh most justly call him my Pylades; he would not hesitate t incur any risk, even of his life, for his Erasmus.

I learned from your ambassador, that Paulus Æmiliu is publishing at last his History of France. A work, which has been elaborated for more than twenty years by a ma whose learning is equal to his diligence, cannot fail to b most complete.

If you have not yet chanced to see Thomas More' *Utopia*, mind you get it, and read it at your earliest leisure You will not be sorry for your pains. I cannot tell yo how glad I am, that Thomas Linacre's Lucubrations are soo to issue from Bade's press. From that man I expec nothing but what is absolutely perfect. Good heavens, wha an epoch do I see approaching; how I wish I could b young again!

My host, Peter Gillis, who is not only an admirer o Good Letters, in which he has no common skill, bu especially interested in you, begs me to greet you in hi name. It was he that with his own fingers wrote out tha prolix epistle, although he was otherwise fully occupied. had no time to copy it myself, and had sent one of m servants away to Louvain, while the other was suffering i his eyes. Farewell.

Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall has been dragged off by the Empero Maximilian, to whom he is accredited ambassador. Sinc

this appointment and the sending of his successor to our Charles's court, he has ceased to occupy the same residence. It is a sort of life, that would not be disagreeable, if only our library could accompany us wherever we went. If he comes here, I will speak to him,—if not, I will dun him by letter,—about writing to you. Farewell again.

Antwerp, 21 February, 1516-7.*

The book entitled *Pauli Aemilii Veronensis de rebus gestis Francorum,* printed by Bade in a somewhat square folio volume without date, of which there is a copy in the British Museum Library, conjecturally ascribed in the Catalogue to 1523, is probably the edition of 1517 mentioned in the letter above.

The much-lauded policy of Cardinal Wolsey was mainly directed to maintain the mutual hostility of the courts of France and Brabant. If Erasmus in his intercourse with Tunstall could follow the negotiations in which his friend was engaged, their object must have been very little to his taste. It is characteristic of him, that having occasion to address a letter to Francis I., he endeavours to make the compliments which he feels bound to expend on his royal correspondent, subserve the cause of European peace. The following letter commences with an elaborate eulogy of the conciliatory disposition, which Francis had shown since his success at the battle of Marignano, and commends his willingness to welcome to his kingdom foreigners distinguished by their merit or learning.

EPISTLE 517. *Epist. s. q. eleg.* p. 123; Ep. i. 19; C. 185 (204)

Erasmus to King Francis I.

* * *

That I should have been among those whom your benignity has deigned to solicit with honourable rewards, I am well aware how much I owe to a disposition as obliging as it is

* Antuerpiæ nono Cal. Martias, An. M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

magnanimous. Would that my genius and learning were such as to answer in some sort to the expectation of so great a Sovereign, and that I had the eloquence to commend to posterity your heroic virtues and the glories of your reign and especially that divine blessing of peace which has been restored,—chiefly by your efforts,—to the Christian world. I pray the Almighty, that having been pleased to put into your minds those noble motives, He will further the same and bring them to good effect. Truly wrote the peaceful monarch, that the hearts of kings are in God's hands. Who indeed can doubt that this frame of mind is given you by His inspiration? There is therefore some hope, that He who has begun to bestow this new felicity upon Christendom and that principally by your means, will grant that the same gift may by the piety and firmness of Christian princes be long continued. May that Power, most excellent king, for the sake of your realm and indeed of the whole world, long preserve and keep your Majesty in every happiness and prosperity; to whom I yield and dedicate my whole self.

Antwerp, 21 February, 1516-7.*

Erasmus found time on the same day to despatch a short letter to Martinus Dorpius, referring in a friendly spirit to their former controversy, in which More had taken a more lively part in defence of Erasmus than Erasmus himself. See pp. 166-169, 223. His reference to the invitation he had received from France shows, that the postponement of his answer was only a civil mode of refusing.

EPISTLE 518. Farrago, p. 179; Ep. vii. 7; C. 1808 (424).

Erasmus to Dorpius.

With regard to a different kind of studies, I admit that what you write is true, and that a person dissenting does not

* Antuerpiæ ix. Calen. Mar. Anno M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

harm to an author, and even in many cases does good. But in this case one who dissents does not so much show his own superior learning, as that his adversary is not a Christian; and even if he does not intend that himself, still the person attacked is lowered in the opinion of an ignorant public, and a handle is given to the most perverse class of people, who are fed or grow great by the misfortunes of others. I never had any suspicion of your own intention, but perhaps I had a better knowledge of human character, and considered the circumstances of the case more deeply than you did. If any people are distressed at our agreement, let us do our best, my Dorpius, to increase their sorrow; as they do not deserve to be happy, who rejoice at the misfortunes of their neighbours. There is no reason for you to be frightened by rumours; no one on earth is less disturbed by them than myself. Those who wish well to Erasmus will readily extend their love to Dorpius, if they perceive that you are heartily my friend. I received two letters from More yesterday, and before two days are over, the messenger will take mine in return, in which I will add what you wish; indeed I had already written something about the good terms we are on, before I received any hint from you.

I am invited to France by letters from several persons with splendid promises, and that in the King's name; but I am not disposed to trust myself again on the stage.* My inclination demands retirement; and the age I have reached, or rather my state of health, also compels me to keep quiet.

Peter Gillis received your greeting with pleasure, and lovingly returns his own. If you have anything for England, send it at once, and we will attend to it. You will greet over and over again in my name Joannes Atensis, who is praised by every one and yet never praised enough. Farewell.

Antwerp, 21 February, [1517].†

* Sed non libet rursus me theatro committere.

† Antuerpiæ, nono Cal. Martias. *Farrago.*

Joannes Atensis (John Briard of Ath in Hainault, where the name of Briard is still common) * was Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Theology at the University of Louvain; and as Erasmus had probably already in view the possibility of his own removal to that place, it was important to secure him for a friend. Compare pp. 504.

Dr. Cop's letter, which had followed the last of Budé (p. 473), was answered a few days later.

EPISTLE 519. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 122; Ep. i. 18; C. 186 (205).

Erasmus to William Cop.

How happy is France in such a Sovereign! How lucky are you in such a patron! How highly-favoured am I by the notice of so great a Monarch! Nevertheless I am not yet in a position to give any certain answer to the letter which you wrote me by the King's command; but I shall soon decide, and will send another message. Meantime I shall enjoy the usufruct of this honour. Having obtained the favour of the most renowned king by the recommendation of his most distinguished subject, I will not hide nor forget how great is my obligation for the interest he has taken in me. I have thanked His Majesty in some sort by letter; so Budé ordered. But you will do so more cleverly by word of mouth,—and not only to him, but also to that distinguished divine, William Petit, and the Reverend Father, Francis Rochefort, whose mistaken partiality has been equalled by the zeal with which they have told fibs about me to the King.

You say you want our Aphorisms; but you must not suppose, that they are of the same kind as those of you

* I am indebted for a note concerning Joannes Atensis to M. Vanderhaeghen of Ghent. See further, p. 504.

Hippocrates; it is quite a different thing. If however you ask for Erasmus's little book on the Institution of a Christian Prince, you will find it quicker by this title.* Farewell.

I am glad to hear, that Thomas Linacre's lucubrations are being printed at Paris. If you have not read More's Utopia, do look out for it, whenever you wish to be amused, or rather I should say, if you ever want to see the sources from which almost all the ills of the body politic arise. Farewell again.

Antwerp, 24 Feb. 1516-7.†

By the same messenger Erasmus sent an answer to the proposal, which had been sent to him some months before by Lewis Canossa,‡ Bishop of Bayeux, Epistle 480, p. 434. In this letter, EPISTLE 520, —Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 126; Ep. i. 21; C. 180 (206),—dated at Antwerp, 24 February, 1516-7,§ Erasmus says nothing of his delay in replying to the Bishop's letter; but, acknowledging his obligation to him, puts off any definite answer until the return to Brussels of the Chancellor of Burgundy, by whose means he has been admitted into the service of the Catholic King.

The following hasty letter to Ammonius was dated on the same day as the two preceding letters. The favourable answers which were on their way from Rome,—Epistles 499, 500, 501, 503,—being addressed to England, had not yet reached Erasmus. The Bishop of Chieti, to whom Erasmus was now indebted for some valuable assistance at Court, was John Peter Caraffa, who some thirty-eight years later became Pope under the name of Paul IV. See before, pp. 115, 116.

* This work is arranged in short sentences, and entitled, *Institutio Principis Christiani aphorismis digesta.* Erasmi Opera, iv. 560.

† Antuerpiæ sexto Calen. Martias, Anno M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

‡ Lewis Canossa has been described in p. 126 as a Cardinal; but he never attained that dignity. This mistake, arising out of the expressions used by Erasmus in a later epistle addressed to Germain de Brie (C. 1458 (1239), has been made by more than one commentator upon Erasmus. Drummond, *Life of Erasmus*, i. 245; Pennington, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 129.

§ Antuerpiæ sexto Calen. Martias. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

EPISTLE 521. Farrago, p. 229; Ep. viii. 38 (1); C. 228 (231).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

You will scarcely believe, Ammonius, how nearly I have been burnt here by the jealousy of the Theologians. At Louvain they squared at me like prizefighters. It was a conspiracy with Atensis at its head, who is all the more mischievous,* as he is an enemy pretending to be a friend. At the same time they were busy with the Prince, to unite the Pope's authority with his. But at last I went to Louvain myself, and so completely dispersed all this smoke that I have established a close friendship with the theologians from the greatest to the least; while at Court the intrigues have been suppressed, by the favour partly of the nobility and partly of the learned, and especially by the aid of the bishop of Chieti.

I have been long expecting the Oracle of Safety.† If that does not come, Erasmus is as much played out as the last bean,‡ and you have nothing left but to write his epitaph. For my own part, I would rather have made two journeys to Rome than be tortured with this long suspense. I do not say this to detract from my obligation to you; I know the delay does not come from any intention of yours, but from my own destiny.

I have put your Jerome into the hands of the booksellers that I might send him in a more elegant dress; and they, as usual, put one off. But if you have not bought a copy, I will send it still.

* Hoc nocentiore. In a later letter to Tunstall, 16 Oct. 1519 (C. 509 E) when Erasmus, then living at Louvain, had quarrelled with Briard, he writes: Solus Noxus ille fuit, qui et olim instigavit Dorpium. *Noxus* is Atensis, the Latin word, *noxa*, being equivalent to the Greek, *ἄτη*.

† *τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν σωτήριον*. The dispensation expected from Rome.

‡ Tam periit Ἐράσμιος quam extrema faba.

Whatever money you order, will be ready for you at once; and I shall still never cease to be indebted to you for the whole of this good turn. Only make haste, that I may be safe before Easter, and show yourself a veritable Æsculapius. But if any reason shall arise for giving up hope, it will be some morsel of comfort to be relieved at once from suspense; but your Genius will not let me despair.

France offers mountains of gold; but my hands are tied. If you have what is to restore me to life, send it through More, unless some safer conveyance offers itself. Farewell.

Antwerp, 24 Feb. 1516-7.*

The next letter is addressed by Erasmus to the Chaplain Preacher of the Bishop of Basel. It is interesting, as containing a glance at the condition of Europe, and showing the anxious but hopeful view, which the writer took of its prospects in the two matters in which he was most interested,—the maintenance of peace, and the advancement of learning and enlightenment,—on the eve of the religious revolution which was to divide Christendom for centuries. In the last letter of his correspondent Erasmus had been asked to suggest an improvement in his Latin name, which now appears for the first time, in the form seen below, with the *agnomen* of Capito. See p. 379. This epistle has little of the character of a private letter, and appears to have been consigned to the press at Louvain before it was delivered to the person to whom it was addressed. See Epistle 528, pp. 517, 518.

EPISTLE 522. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 5; Ep i. 4; C. 186 (207).

Erasmus to Guolfangus Fabritius Capito.

It is no part of my nature, most learned Wolfgang, to be excessively fond of life; whether it is, that I have, to my own mind, lived nearly long enough, having entered my fifty-first year, or that I see nothing in this life so splendid

* Antuerpiæ, Sexto Cal. Martias. *Farrago.* M.D.XVI. *Opus Epist.*

or delightful, that it should be desired by one who is convinced by the Christian faith, that a happier life awaits those who in this world earnestly attach themselves to piety. But at the present moment I could almost wish to be young again, for no other reason but this, that I anticipate the near approach of a golden age; so clearly do we see the minds of princes as if changed by inspiration, devoting all their energies to the pursuit of peace. The chief movers in this matter are Pope Leo, and Francis, king of France. * * *

There is nothing this king does not do or does not suffer in his desire to avert war and consolidate peace; submitting of his own accord, to conditions which might be deemed unfair, if he preferred to have regard to his own greatness and dignity, rather than to the general advantage of the world and exhibiting in this, as in every thing else, a magnanimous and truly royal character. Therefore, when I see that the highest sovereigns of Europe, Francis of France, Charles the King Catholic, Henry of England and the Emperor Maximilian have set all their warlike preparations aside and established peace upon solid, and, as I trust adamantine foundations, I am led to a confident hope, that not only morality and Christian piety, but also a genuine and purer literature may come to renewed life or greater splendour especially as this object is pursued with equal zeal in various regions of the world,—at Rome by Pope Leo, in Spain by the Cardinal of Toledo, in England by Henry eighth of the name, himself not unskilled in Letters, and among ourselves by our young king Charles. In France king Francis, who seems as it were born for this object invites and entices from all countries men that excel in merit or in learning. Among the Germans the same object is pursued by many of their excellent Princes and Bishops and especially by Maximilian Cæsar, whose old age, weary of so many wars, has determined to seek rest in the employments of peace, a resolution more becoming to his own

years, while it is fortunate for the Christan world. To the piety of these princes it is due, that we see everywhere, as if upon a given signal, men of genius are arising and conspiring together to restore the best literature. * *

Polite letters, which were almost extinct, are now cultivated and embraced by Scots, by Danes and by Irishmen. Medicine has a host of champions; at Rome Nicolas of Leonice; at Venice Ambrosius Leo of Nola, in France William Cop, and John Ruelle, and in England Thomas Linacre. The Imperial Law is restored at Paris by William Budé, in Germany by Udalric Zasy; and Mathematics at Basel by Henry of Glaris. In the Theological sphere there was no little to be done, because this science has been hitherto mainly professed by those who are most pertinacious in their abhorrence of the better literature, and are the more successful in defending their own ignorance as they do it under pretext of piety, the unlearned vulgar being induced to believe, that violence is offered to Religion, if any one begins an assault upon their barbarism. For in the presence of an ignorant mob they are always ready to scream and excite their followers to stone-throwing, if they see any risk of not being thought omniscient. But even here I am confident of success, if the knowledge of the three languages continues to be received in schools, as it has now begun. For the most learned and least churlish men of the profession do in some measure assist and favour the new system; and in this matter we are especially indebted to the vigorous exertions of James Lefèvre of Étaples, whom you resemble not only in name, but in a number of accomplishments.

The humblest part of the work has naturally fallen to my lot. Whether my contribution has been worth anything, I cannot say; at any rate those who object to the world regaining its senses, are as angry with me, as if my small industry had had some influence; although the work was not undertaken by me with any confidence that I could myself

teach anything magnificent, but I wanted to construct a road for other persons of higher aims, so that they might be less impeded by pools and stumbling-blocks in carrying home those fair and glorious treasures.

* * * * *

Why should I say more? Everything promises me the happiest success. But one doubt still possesses my mind. I am afraid, that under cover of a revival of ancient literature, Paganism may attempt to rear its head,—as there are some among Christians, that acknowledge Christ in name, but breathe inwardly a Heathen spirit,—or on the other hand, that the restoration of Hebrew learning may give occasion to a revival of Judaism. This would be a plague as much opposed to the doctrine of Christ as anything that could happen. * * * Some books have lately come out with a strong flavour of Judaism. I see how Paul exerted himself to defend Christ against Judaism, and I am aware that some persons are secretly sliding in that direction. I hear also that some are intent upon other schemes, which do nothing for the knowledge of Christ, but only cloud men's eyes with smoke.† So much the more do I wish you to undertake this province; I know that your sincere piety will have regard to nothing but Christ, to whom all your studies are devoted.

Take pains to commend me to the Reverend Father Christopher, Bishop of Basel, and give my salutations to my other friends, especially to Lewis Baer, Henry Glarean, Beatus Rhenanus, the brothers Amerbach, William Nesen, Luke, Doctor of Laws, Gerard, Doctor of Laws, John Faber the Official, and all the rest of those in whose society I took so much pleasure, when I was with you. Farewell.

Antwerp, 26 February, 1516-7.‡

† fumos tantum offundunt oculis hominum. See p. 517.

‡ Antuerpiæ. IIII. calend. Martias. Anno M.D.XVI. *Epist. s. q. eleg.*

We have seen that in Epistle 404 Erasmus had begged the help of Latimer in preparing another edition of the New Testament, and that in Epistle 502, Latimer, having been further asked to give his assistance to the Greek studies of the Bishop of Rochester, had suggested, that the Bishop should send for a Greek instructor from Italy. See p. 466. In the following letter Erasmus, approaching the same subjects in a mocking spirit which is peculiarly characteristic, concludes with some serious advice.

EPISTLE 523. Opus Epist. 378 ; Ep. x. 23 ; C. 378 (363).

Erasmus to William Latimer.

With how much pleasure, most learned Latimer, did I recognize in your letter to me the candour and more than virgin modesty of your character, combined as it is with Christian prudence ! No name is mentioned by you without approbation ; but what discretion in your praise ! And again, while you are so liberal in your estimate of the accomplishments of others, how unwilling you are to assume anything to yourself ! Nevertheless, I could not help wishing, that you had not been quite so eloquent in your excuses. I thought I had put together a mass of arguments of no little weight, to persuade you to consent to give us your aid in the revision of the New Testament ; and I afterwards begged you to bestow a month's assistance upon a Prelate, who was desirous of adding a knowledge of Greek as a colophon to his consummate erudition. In both cases your counsel was asked in the general interest of Learning ; and you met me in reply with such troops of arguments, as made me understand, how speechless and barren I was when compared with you. Nevertheless I shall willingly let you carry off the palm of eloquence, provided that in return, you let us have the help I ask, which will be all the more welcome, if it shall appear, not to be extorted by arguments, but given voluntarily and of your own inclination. As to

my own matter, you do at last almost make a promise, which I accept ; but not without some fear, that your aid may be of no more use to us than that of Rhesus to the Trojans.* For Froben's press is already demanding copy.

As to the Bishop of Rochester I am still less in agreement with you. You think it better not to attempt to do anything, unless you can complete what you begin ; and suggest that some Greek scholar should be fetched from Italy, who may remain with the Bishop until he is proficient in this study. But as this plan appears more desirable than practicable, I have fallen back on the alternative of the Comedy, ὡς δυνάμεθα (as we are able). Italy is a long way off, and has not now so many distinguished scholars as it had when you were there. There was always the risk, that instead of the distinguished scholar that was wanted, some bungler might step in. You are aware too, what the Italians are, and how liberal a payment they expect, to induce them to migrate to a "barbarous country,"—even men of moderate attainments. I need not add, that those who come well versed in good letters, may sometimes bring with them morals not equally good; and you know the faultless character of the Bishop. So it comes to pass, that while we make up our minds, whom we shall send for, and take advice about the salary he is to have, and while arrangements are being made for the man's journey, a considerable time slips by. I know, it has been well and wisely said : Before beginning a thing, take counsel ; after that is done, lose no time in carrying out what has been determined ; but I see many people do nothing but take counsel, until it is too late to complete what they have resolved upon at last. You are not to be suspected of the vulgar weakness of admiring nothing but what is fetched

* Rhesus with his Thracians had arrived somewhat late to assist the Trojans, when his camp was attacked at night by Ulysses and Diomed, and Rhesus and his followers slain. Iliad, x. 435, 474.

from afar. To me he is an Italian, who has Italian learning, though he may have been born in Erin ;* he is a Greek, who is versed in Greek authors, though he wears no beard. I am favourable to the glory of Italy, for this, if for no other reason, that I find her more kindly disposed to me than even my own country ; but to say frankly what I think, if I can have Linacre or Tunstall for a preceptor,—not to speak of yourself,—I shall not want an Italian.†

It is worth while therefore to consider, whether it is not somewhat ill-advised, to seek abroad what you might find at home, or to reject a thing you need, of moderate quality, because something of the highest excellence is not offered to you. Did not Grocin himself, whose example you quote, learn the rudiments of Greek in England? He went afterwards to Italy, where he studied under the most distinguished teachers ; but meantime it was some advantage to have learned what he did from his masters here, whoever they were. I agree with you, that it is desirable, that even the elements should be taught by a proficient instructor ; but if that is not possible, it is better to begin in whatever way you can, than to remain altogether ignorant, especially in a study of this kind. It is something to be familiar with the letters, to pronounce the words readily, to know the declensions and conjugations. Can you say, he has made no progress at all, who has got over this troublesome process? This is how it comes to pass that we beg one month's work from you, with the silent hope, that it may go on for three, which we have not the boldness to ask. If that is out of the question, we trust that some one else may be found to build upon the foundation you will have laid. Even if we are disappointed in this, still, such is our pupil's capacity and anxiety to learn, that we are confident, he will by his own exertions struggle

* apud Iuvernos natus.

† Nō desiderarim Italiā. *Op. Epist.* Sim. later editions. Probably we should read, Italum.

on to mediocrity. With mediocrity he may perhaps be well content, seeing that he is not ambitious of being a Greek scholar, except in order to study the Sacred Books with greater fruit and surer judgment. Putting these objects out of the question, would your pains be thrown away? Suppose the Bishop's studies not to be much advanced, it would still be of some use in stimulating the minds of the young, to have a person of his distinction devoting himself to Greek. And as in learning it is always expedient to begin early, in the present instance the Bishop's age warns us, that it is not a case for procrastination.

I will conclude my letter with a word of advice. Do not let a modesty, which I might almost call immodest, discourage you for giving your assistance to public studies. Some persons, like myself, are only too bold; but I am not sure, which are most to blame,—those who attempt nothing for fear of making mistakes, or those who in their ill-considered attempts to be useful, sometimes go wrong. These teach many a profitable lesson, although they may not be right in every particular; and moreover by their own study, they arouse and quicken the studies of others. But people who keep all the knowledge they possess to themselves, are in my opinion more to blame than those much abused misers, who are guardians rather than owners of their money. In the miser's case the money which they have gathered, is transferred by their death to the use of others; the most accomplished student leaves nothing to any heir, unless his thoughts have been committed to Letters. This is what I fear will happen to our friend Grocin, and what I would not have happen to you.

Farewell, most excellent and learned Sir, and bring what you have promised, to maturity.

Antwerp, [February, 1517.]*

* Antuuerpiæ. Anno M.D.XVIII. *Op. Epist.*

In EPISTLE 524,—Deventer MS., C. 1591 (115),—dated from Brussels, 1 March, 1517, and addressed by Marianus Accardus Siculus to Erasmus, the writer expresses his regret that he had not seen more of his correspondent in Brussels, and sends his own salutation to Peter Gillis, whom he calls the Achates of Erasmus. The writer appears to have been a Sicilian, and was probably engaged in some diplomatic employment at the Court of Brabant. See Epistle 543, p. 537.

The following letter was sent to More by the hands of the son of a resident of Antwerp, John Crull, to whom More appears to have been able to be of service in some business transaction in England. See p. 515, and Epistle 527, p. 516.

EPISTLE 525. Farrago, p. 184 ; Ep. vii. 16 ; C. 189 (208).

Erasmus to More.

I sent you not long ago a parcel of epistles, with the copy of the *Utopia*,* by a person who according to his own account was a great friend of yours. I might have burdened him with more, but was afraid. Having now another messenger, I send all the Reuchlin pamphlets in one book, which you will communicate to the Bishop of Rochester, on condition that he will read and return it as soon as possible. For there are some tracts there, which are not anywhere else to be found. You may read, yourself, propositions of unmitigated theology, sentences of abysmal wisdom, and the Articles of Arnold of Tongres ! †

* The epistles were apparently manuscript letters, which Erasmus was collecting for publication, and of which he wished copies to be made ; see the second and two later paragraphs of this letter, p. 515. The *Utopia* was probably Erasmus's copy with some notes or suggestions for the new edition. See the fourth paragraph of this letter, and Epistle 527, p. 516.

† Arnoldus a Lude, born at Tongres, Doctor of Theology and Prebendary, first of Liège and afterwards of Cologne, author of *Tractatus Propositionum*, and of *Prælectiones* on some of the Gospels, died at Liège in 1540. Böcking, *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, Appendix.*

I send one letter, which I have written to Marlianus,* because he suspected the first book of *Utopia* to have proceeded from me. I do not want that notion to gain ground, as nothing is more silly.

I understand that that dialogue, between Julius and St. Peter, is now in the Great Chancellor's hands, and that he is mightily pleased with it.†

We expect the *Moria* every day.‡ Send your revised *Utopia* here as soon as you can, and we will send the copy either to Basel, or if you like, to Paris. If Ammonius has anything to send, do let it come to me as soon as possible. For the Prince is now preparing for his journey;§ and we are not certain ourselves, whither or when we shall go.

A great sum is being exacted from the people, and that in ready money. The demand has been accepted by the nobility and prelates, that is, by the only persons who will not pay anything. Now the communes are in consultation.‖ The Emperor, generally in want of arms, is now here with a retinue splendidly armed, and the fields are full of bands of soldiers, but whence and in whose name they come, is not known.¶ What a wretched country is this, with so many vultures gnawing at it; and how happy it might be, if the communes were united among themselves.

* A copy of a letter written to Aloisius (Ludovicus) Marlianus, bishop of Tuda (Tuy in Galicia), a Councillor in the court of King Charles at Brussels. This letter is not preserved, but there are other letters to the same correspondent.

† See p. 448 and Epistle 597. ‡ Probably the latest edition of Froben.

§ Charles, now Catholic King, but called habitually "the Prince" by Erasmus, was preparing for his journey to Spain, and mainly delayed by want of funds.

‖ Nunc civitates consultant.

¶ The Emperor Maximilian had been provided with funds by the English Government to induce him to come to the Low Countries, and exert his influence with his grandson against the French alliance. Brewer, Reign of Henry VIII. p. 160.

Let me know whether Canterbury and Colet are as well disposed to me as ever, and also Rochester, about whom I lately wrote to you.

The father of the bearer of this letter has been entertaining us at a sumptuous dinner. A wealthy and a worthy man, he had a great deal to say about the service you had done him.

Pray help me with your advice;* we are preparing another collection of letters for the Press. I send you Budé's last to me.

I wish Maruffo—where he deserves to be—with his bill! For those *Sauls* cannot be got in anywhere, without my going to Bruges.† Farewell, sweetest More.

Francis is still over there, and if Jerome has not been delivered complete to the Archbishop, it must be got from him; he is bound to make it good. Send back copies of the letters I now send, and let me have the papers that Lupset has returned, but by a safe hand.‡ Farewell again with your family.

Antwerp, 1 March, 1516-7.§

We gather from the first and some later clauses of the above letter, that Erasmus was preparing to publish a new collection of Epistles. In this work he was assisted on the one hand by More, who appears to have placed a clerk at his service in London, and to have superintended the copying of some of the letters intended for publication. On the other hand, the superintendence of the printing was placed in the hands of Peter Gillis, as had been already done in the case of the smaller collection, published in the preceding October, entitled *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum ad Erasmum et huius ad illos*; see the Introduction to our former volume, p. xxviii. As in that case a dedicatory Preface had been addressed in the name

* Adjuva me quaeso tuo consilio. See p. 513, and the first note there.

† Nam Saulos istos nusquam licet comprehendere ni Brugas proficiscar.

‡ See pp. 447, 448.

§ Antuuerpiæ Calen. Martijs. *Farrago.* M.D.XVI. add. *Op. Epist.*

of Gillis to Gaspar Halmal, Doctor of Laws and one of the Magistrates of the City of Antwerp, so on the present occasion the same friend was deputed to write a dedication, the person selected for this honour being Antonius Clava, one of the Councillors of the Burgundian Court. Epistle 526, dated at Antwerp on the 5th of March, 1517, and addressed in the name of Peter Gillis to this gentleman, was prefixed to the new volume of Epistles, for which the title chosen was, *Aliquot epistolæ sane quam elegantes Erasmi Roterodami et ad hunc aliorum.* The book in its original form is a small 4to volume, the printing of which by Thierry Martens at Louvain appears to have been finished in April, 1517. See the Introduction to our former volume, p. xxix, and pp. lxxiii-lxxv, where a translation of this Dedication, which was not reprinted in any of the collections of Epistles, may be found. The reader will observe the disinclination of Erasmus to appear as the publisher of his own letters.

On the 8th of March, 1517, a week after his last letter to More, Erasmus wrote again to the same correspondent. The letter of Dorpius, mentioned in the second clause of the following letter, might be thought to be Epistle 304, which was answered by Epistle 350; but that Epistle appears to have been long since printed by its author; see p. 168. We are perhaps dealing here with a later letter, not included in our series of extant epistles. The copy of the *Utopia*, which Erasmus expected, is mentioned in Epistle 525. See note, p. 513.

Epistle 527. Farrago, p. 185; Ep. vii. 17; C. 234 (237).

Erasmus to More.

I have sent two parcels of letters, one by a merchant, the other by the son of John Crull, on whose behalf you took so much trouble. To the latter I entrusted the volume containing the writings of Reuchlin, which the Bishop of Rochester was pining to see, and by the former I sent Reuchlin's little book, translated at my expense.

Send the *Utopia* as soon as may be. There is a Senator of Antwerp, who is so pleased with it, that he has learnt it by heart. The letter of Dorpius which you answered, has

been copied by your people in such a way, that the Sibyl herself could not read it; I wish you would send it, less badly written. Pray write about everything carefully, as soon as circumstances permit; for a great change of things seems to be impending here, if my mind does not mislead me. Farewell with all your family.

The bearer of this is an honest youth, to whom Sixtinus has made some promise; and on the strength of that, he is going to England, not being aware that a bare promise is no ground for an action. Nevertheless do spur our friend on, to extend his favour to him. If Pollio was much with you, you will easily guess what I suffered at Brussels, having so many Spanish visitors on my hands every day, beside Italians and Germans.

Farewell again.

Antwerp, 8 March, 1517.*

It is not easy to explain, what was the great change (magna rerum mutatio), which Erasmus was expecting, and which made him anxious that More should write to him de omnibus rebus diligenter. In Epistle 529, written two days later, he deprecates a war with France. See p. 519.

Rutgerus Rescius, a scholar who was afterwards Professor of Greek in the Trilingual College of Louvain, and who at this time assisted Thierry Martens in the printing of his learned books, was employed to correct the proofs of the new collection of the correspondence of Erasmus, which appear to have passed from hand to hand among his friends at Louvain. It has been already observed (p. 505), that the epistle addressed to Guolphangus Fabritius (Epistle 522) was probably printed in this volume before it reached his hands.

* Antuuerpiæ postridie nonas Martias. *Farrago.* M.D.XVII. *Op. Epist.* According to the dating then commonly used it should be M.D.XVI. Compare pp. 499, 508, 515, 522.

Epistle 528. Deventer MS., C. 1554 (54).

Rutgerus Rescius to Erasmus.

There is a passage in your letter to Guolphangus Fabritius, not far from the end, in which we cannot find our way. It begins thus: *Tum audio nonnullos alia quædam moliri quæ ad Christi cognitionem nihil adferant, sed funcios tantum offendant oculis hominum.* I shewed it to Paludanus and Noviomagus, who finding themselves sticking in the same rut as myself, and thinking that no change should be lightly made, advised that the place should be shewn to you before it was printed. Dorpius conjectured that we should read *fumos tantum offundunt.** Thierry therefore has left this part of the letter to be printed afterwards, and is now sending you a proof, begging you to send him, as soon as you can, your own decision on the reading of this passage. He also wishes, if there is anything that can be conveniently added at the end of the Preface to the Epistles, that it may be given him, as he reserved a whole page clear on both sides, of which it will scarcely occupy half. Farewell.

Louvain, 8 March, 1516-7.†

The first paragraph of the following letter relates to the poem, which had been sent to Erasmus with Epistle 513. See p. 491. Those that follow are directed against war. Erasmus was so far in advance of the sentiment of his time, as to look upon all war as unnecessary and wrong; and a war with France was especially odious to him. Among those whom he expected to see at Brussels, was Paul Rizio, whom he had first met at Pavia in September, 1506.

* This conjecture appears to have been confirmed by the author. See p. 508.

† Lovanio 8 Martii, Anno 1516. C.

EPISTLE 529. Epist. s. q. eleg. 183 ; Ep. i. 37 ; C. 190 (210).

Erasmus to Bartolini.

I was marvellously pleased with the hendecasyllables of Gaspar Velius. The whole composition flows with such a learned facility, that it is easy to discern a vein of genius, not merely elegant, but rich and abundant. But it becomes me to be sparing in the praise of one, who has been so excessive in praising me ; I wish his labours had been employed upon a happier subject.

We may congratulate Germany, if she is at last permitted to have some rest from War, and there is hope, that by the wisdom of her rulers this may soon come to pass ; although even now some persons are to be found among the baser sort, who would fan the flames of a war against the French. Impious thought ! Shall the Christian world conspire against the purest and most flourishing part of Christendom ? France alone is not infected by heretics, nor by Bohemian schismatics, nor by Jews, nor by half-Jewish Maranians,* nor by the proximity of the Turk. No other country has a Senate more august ; in no other country will you find a School either more frequented or more religious ; nowhere else has Law a greater authority ; nowhere else is there such perfect concord of an entire realm. Who are more worthy to rule, than those who rule best ?

It is plain that the persons who endeavour to bring about war, are our very worst advisers. We are such near neighbours to the French, that we are almost French ourselves, and it will be indeed a Civil War, if Gauls fight with Gauls.†

* The Marani appear to have been a race of Spanish converted Jews.

† See the observation in p. 497, at the end of the first paragraph.

What is more evidently wise, than to be united in a good understanding with so near and so powerful a neighbour? Those whose blind hatred of the French promises them a certain victory, do not remember for how many years we have struggled without success against the Gueldrians; for even now we do not know how things will turn out in Friesland. But suppose the victory to be on our side; what would be so agreeable to the wishes of the Turks and others, who hate the name of Christ, as to see the fairest and securest part of Christendom wasted with sword and fire, and the choicest flower of our religion trodden down with indignity? Forbid it Heaven, that such madness should gain support from the favour of Fortune, or the intrigues of Princes! But these matters are not in our province.

As to the publication of the poem, how can I give my assent, when, learned as it is, it tells such unmeasured falsehoods about myself? It will only bring credit to the writer, and ridicule on me; I should be contributing to his glory, if I could only spare my own blushes.

I must put up with your departure, provided only you are soon restored to us; for I am desirous both of seeing you more nearly, and of making the acquaintance of Velius. Moreover, Paul Rizio so charmed me at our last interview, that I am thirsting for more frequent and familiar conversation with him. Beside his familiarity with Hebrew, what a wealth he has both of Philosophy and of Theology! And again what clearness of mind, what ardour in learning, what sincerity in teaching, what modesty in argument! I liked the man long ago, on my first taste of him at Pavia, where he was Professor of Theology, and now that I see him nearer, I like him better still. He seems to me to be the Israelite indeed, answering fairly to his name, all his enjoyments and anxieties, his pleasures and his toils being devoted to Sacred Literature. It is indeed a mind that well deserves a position of honorable leisure.

Commend me to the Cardinal of Gurk,* the most learned Mæcenas of all learned men. Farewell.

Antwerp, 10 March, 1516-7.†

Epistles 530, 531, which are the answers of Erasmus to the letters of the Pope and the Bishop of Worcester (Epistles 501, 503), are dated, not at Antwerp, but at Brussels, from which place despatches might more easily be sent to Rome. They have no date of time, but may probably be ascribed to an early day in March, 1517, having been written after Erasmus had received the news from Rome, which he was anxiously expecting when he wrote to Ammonius on the 24th of February. See p. 504. These letters, with Epistle 529, all fresh from the writer's hand, were published in the volume of Epistles, which was then in the press, and for which the Dedicatory Preface, Epistle 526, had already been written. We may well conceive, that Erasmus deemed it expedient, to meet any current rumour of his disabilities by making it known at once, without any publication of details, that he had obtained from the Highest Authority,—and that by the most powerful advocacy,—a more than sufficient Indulgence.

Epistle 530. Epist. s. q. eleg. p. 148 ; Ep. i. 30 ; C. 166 (194).

Erasmus to Pope Leo X.

Most holy Father, in this case, as in every other, your incredible goodness and affection surpass, not only our deserts, but even our desires. What my modesty was asking in a more limited and sparing manner, your benignity has more largely and profusely indulged. You have also been pleased not to conceal from me, to what personages I owe this favour, whereas I should have wished to be endebted for everything to your Holiness alone ! I knew the Catholic

* Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gurk in Carinthia, afterwards Archbishop of Salzburg. Bartolini was his almoner. See p. 490.

† Antuerpia 10 Martii, Anno 1516, C.

King had commended me to you by letter, but for another purpose; although that was done, not only in my absence, but without my being privy to it. As for the King of England, though I have been obliged to him on many other occasions, I was hitherto quite unaware of this good turn.

* * *

Meantime, while on the one hand, as a private matter, I acknowledge my own felicity in obtaining the approbation, not only of the Supreme Pontiff, but of Leo, by his own endowments supreme among the supreme, so on the other hand, as a matter of public concern, I congratulate this our age,—which bids fair to be an age of gold, if ever such there was,—wherein I see, under your happy auspices and by your holy counsels, three of the chief blessings of humanity are about to be restored to her. I mean, first, that truly Christian piety, which has in many ways fallen into decay, secondly, learning of the best sort, hitherto partly neglected and partly corrupted, and thirdly, the public and lasting concord of Christendom, the source and parent of Piety and Erudition. These will be the undying trophies of the Tenth Leo, which consecrated to eternal memory by the writings of learned men, will for ever render your pontificate and your family illustrious. I pray God, that he may be pleased to confirm this purpose in you, and so protract your life, that after the affairs of mankind have been ordered according to your designs, Leo may make a long-delayed return to the skies.

Brussels [1517]. †

In the letter to Silvester de Giglis, Bishop of Worcester, written, with a like date, to accompany the last, Erasmus recalls the favour with which the Bishop was regarded by Henry, the Seventh of that name, the most sagacious of kings. EPISTLE 531, *Epist. s. q. eleg.* p. 151; Ep. i. 31; C. 168 (196).

† Bruxellæ, M.D.XVI. *Ep. s. q. eleg.*

Epistles 532 and 533, in which Erasmus expresses his obligation to Ammonius for procuring his Dispensation, were both published in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, edited by Beatus Rhenanus some two years after their date. In all the later collections the former epistle was retained and the latter suppressed. Erasmus was not unwilling that it should be known, that he had obtained an ample Indulgence from the Papal Court, but did not think it wise to continue to publish a letter, which might further excite the curiosity of his readers, as to the nature of the difficulties which had been thus removed. It may also have struck him, that the reference to the Bishop of Worcester, to whom he was under some obligation in this matter, was not so agreeable as it might be.

EPISTLE 532. Farrago, p. 229 ; Epist. viii. 37 ; C. 191 (211).

Erasmus to Ammonius.

It is not clear yet, whether I deserve your scolding. At any rate you comfort me most lovingly as well as learnedly. Otherwise I might have sung the plaintive ditty, "An thou wert here, thy mind were changed." But if all were as blind about Erasmus as you, he would be a much happier man. I am in very truth ashamed to thank you for the trouble you have taken, or rather for the affection you have shown. The service you have done me seems too great to be a subject for thanks in the ordinary way ; and how can I possibly repay you ? Still we shall do our best, if only life be spared. Your opinion about Sixtinus is the same as mine has always been. I shall therefore sustain my mind meantime with the hope that you hold out to me. I am entirely occupied with literary work, preparing some things to be sent to Basel.

The King of France invites me to his country, promising a thousand florins a year. I have written him a letter in return, but in such a way as to give no certain answer. The theologians too are now canvassing me to settle at Louvain. But you will hear all this story more fully from More.

Farewell, my Ammonius, and continue the salvation of your poor Erasmus.*

I grudge those employments of yours, which prevent the Muses from possessing that genius as entirely as they ought. I see More too, who has hitherto remained unconquered, is being snatched away by the same hurricane. For myself, always keeping my old character, I throw away all my baggage to save my caps.† Farewell again.

Antwerp, 11 March, [1517].‡

The following letter, which is printed in *Farrago* but is not found in the later collections of Epistles, may be read in its original language in our Appendix.

Epistle 533. Farrago, p. 229.

Erasmus to Ammonius.

I have received the letter addressed to me in the Pope's name ; and another from the Bishop of Worcester, which is quite friendly, but has some scent of money about it, inasmuch as he exaggerates the benefit conferred, and complains of the hardness of the Datarius. He encloses a copy of the Brief addressed to you, corrected, as it seems, according to my alteration ; § but he adds that I shall have to go to you ; if this is necessary, let me know as soon as you can. I do hate that sea of yours ; nevertheless we must bestir ourselves, like Virgil's Theseus,—Itque reditque viam toties,‖—

* et perge σῶσαι τὸν τρισάθλιον Ἐρασμον.

† Totis pilea sarcinis redimo. I presume he means, that he retains his liberty at the expense of his fortune. I do not find the expression in the Adages.

‡ Antuuerpiae Quinto Id. Mart. *Farrago.*

§ sed ex mea mutatione ut uidetur emendatum.

‖ Virgil. Æn. vi. 122

and get through what is to be done in your presence. If this is not necessary, give directions, what you want us to do, and what money is to be paid; but first obtain the opinion of Sixtinus, whether the Brief is right, since he is already privy to Erasmus's misfortune.*

When I know how I can repay,—or rather how I can make any acknowledgment of your kindness to me,—if I do not give up everything to do so, you may write the name of Erasmus among the most ungrateful of men. Farewell.

Antwerp, 15 March [1517].†

Jerome Emser, writing to Erasmus from Dresden on the same 15th of March, 1517,‡—EPISTLE 534, Deventer MS.; C. 1592 (116),—proposes to send his letter to Flanders by Richard Croke, who, having been teaching the rudiments of Greek for two years in Germany, is now returning to England. The writer greets Erasmus as, after Paul, a second Doctor of the Gentiles. He has himself, two years before, superintended the printing of an edition of the Christian Soldier. His Prince,—I presume the Elector of Saxony,—with all the nobility of his Court, desires a visit from Erasmus; and Emser begs him to write, what sum of money would be sufficient to induce him to come. The admiration of this Prince for Erasmus is mentioned in a letter already described. Epistle 488, p. 446.

Another letter, EPISTLE 535, Deventer M.S.; C. 1592 (117), dated at Leipzig the 18th of March, 1517,§ and addressed to Erasmus by Jerome Dungerstein, was also committed to the charge of Richard Croke. In this letter the meaning of the passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, ii. 6, Qui cum esset in forma Dei etc. is discussed at some length. Croke does not appear to have arrived in England before the month of May. See p. 551.

* Posteaquam ille iam *τῆς Ἐρασμικῆς δυσδαιμονίας* est conscius.

† Antuuerpiae. Id. Mart. *Farrago.*

‡ Ex Dresda Misniæ 15. Martii, Anno 1517. C. The city of Meissen appears to have given its name to the district in which Dresden is situated.

§ Datum Lipsiæ 18. Martii, Anno Christi humanitatis 1517. C.

A letter of Erasmus addressed to Henricus Afinius Lyrensis,† written at Antwerp without date of time, probably belongs to this period. Afinius was a physician; and Erasmus, after referring with satisfaction to the Peace established between the principal sovereigns of Europe, so favourable to the revival of science and learning, congratulates his correspondent upon his having become a student of Greek. The Treaty of Cambrai, made between the Emperor Maximilian, Charles king of Spain and Francis I. was dated, 11 March, 1517.

EPISTLE 536. Epist. ad div. p. 511; Ep. xiii. 23; C. 289 (295).

Erasmus to Henricus Afinius.

* * * * *

The same effort has been made by some of the most distinguished physicians of our time,—William Cop, Ambrose Leo of Nola and Nicolaus Leonicenus,—when they were already advanced in years, and yet not without success; for Thomas Linacre and Ruelle learned Greek at an earlier age; and Marcus Musurus is a Greek by race, as he is very Greek indeed in his erudition.

There is no art in which mistakes are more dangerous; and this is the reason why all the most intelligent physicians apply themselves to this study, and I think we shall soon find, that it will be considered presumptuous for a man to profess to be a physician without it. It certainly is something, to hear Hippocrates the prince of this art, and Galen his fellow, and Dioscorides and Paulus Ægineta, discoursing in their own tongue.

* * * * *

Antwerp [March] 1517.‡

† Probably of Lier or Lière in Brabant, a little S.E. of Antwerp.

‡ Antuerpia Anno 1517. *Epist. ad div.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Short visit to England, March and April, 1517; Dispensation of Erasmus by Ammonius under the Papal Indulgence, 9 April; Letters meantime addressed to Antwerp. Epistles 537 to 556.

We have seen in Chapter xxxiv, pp. 460-463, that the principal document issued at Rome with a view to the dispensation of Erasmus (Epistle 499) was addressed, not to Erasmus himself, but to Ammonius, to whom authority was given to absolve him, upon his own request, from the ecclesiastical censures to which he was liable, and to grant him the dispensation and other privileges therein expressed. In order therefore that Erasmus might avail himself of this Indulgence, it appears to have been necessary, that he should personally make application to Ammonius to perform the function entrusted to him. Accordingly we find, that on or about the 22nd of March, 1517, Erasmus,—having, no doubt, received a summons from Ammonius in answer to the question addressed to him in Epistle 533,*—left Antwerp, with the intention of travelling, either immediately or within a few days, to England. The above date is furnished by a letter of Tunstall (Epistle 551), written to Erasmus on the 22nd April, while the latter was still in England; in which the writer says that he had himself been then at Antwerp for thirty days, and had found on his arrival that his correspondent had left that place the day before.

We have no evidence of the precise date of Erasmus's arrival in England, or of the route by which he travelled; nor any certain indication of the place at which he was lodged during his stay in London or Westminster. It is probable however, that Ammonius was able to find room for him in his own house in the Cloisters of St. Stephen at Westminster, which had formerly been so familiar to Erasmus. See p. 127. At any rate we know, that Erasmus was present in person

* See p. 524.

at that house on the 9th of April, 1517, when he made his formal application to Ammonius for Absolution and Dispensation.

But before we follow further the proceedings of Erasmus in England, we are led by our chronological arrangement to notice several letters addressed to him, which were dated during the last ten days of March and the first week of April, 1517, and which in all probability awaited his return to Antwerp. Epistles 537-548.

Epistle 537. Deventer MS. ; C. 1595 (119).

Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus.

I am much more delighted to hear of your happiness and of your honours, than I could ever be at any success of my own. Who indeed would not be pleased to know, that one so absolutely learned has the approbation of the most powerful of Princes? We are told by all those who come from your Court, how dear you are to King Charles, with what civility you are treated by those gentlemen in collars,* how you are watched by the other courtiers, and finally how you are singularly respected by all those, who are lovers of virtue or of learning. We hope therefore, that one who has done so much for the advancement of Literature, will soon be in a position to adorn it with his own authority. If Charles wishes to do honour to Letters, how can he more clearly show this desire than by raising to some post of dignity one who possesses so much erudition, eloquence and judgment, as may well be admired by us all,—who in every country are entered for the same race,—but have never yet been attained by any other, and perhaps never will be attained? In this spirit Pope Leo, a most liberal Prince, has lately conferred an archbishopric upon Marcus Musurus, a distinguished man of learning.

* quam suspiciant te torquati isti. I presume the allusion is to the collar of the Golden Fleece, with which the principal personages of the Burgundian Court were decorated.

Christopher, Bishop of Basel, has the highest opinion of your attainments, and never ceases to speak of you in the most honorable terms, while all our students love and revere you. As the phrase runs, the Muse herself is now alive ;* every one is occupied with Greek. Rudolph of Halweiler, a nobleman both in mind and by rank, and a Canon of the Cathedral Church here, has become a boy again, being busy in learning the rudiments of that language,—at the age, if I am not mistaken, of fifty-four.

Our Wolfgang† is going to publish next month three Books of *Hebrew Institutes*. Froben has been printing this winter sixteen books of *Lectiones Antiquæ*, compiled by a certain Cælius.‖ If it contains anything learned, he owes it to the authors whom he cites. You saw the man yourself at Padua, where he lived for some time as a private teacher, but of no great name. Hutten has lately written to me from Bologna.

Pray give my salutation to that most excellent youth, John Smith. Commend me also to Doctor Dorpius, and to Gillis, the town clerk of Antwerp. I have already sent you the Poem composed by Philip Melancthon.

Farewell, most eloquent Sir, and regard your own Beatus as commended most sincerely to you.

Basel, 22 March, 1517.‡

This letter is followed in C. 1595, by a Greek poem in honour of Erasmus, composed in twenty-eight lines (iambic dimeters) by Philip Melancthon, and dated at Tübingen, the 21st of August, 1516.§

A letter from Archbishop Warham, dated the 24th of March, 1517, probably passed Erasmus on his way, as he appears to have left Antwerp a day or two before its date. This letter, probably written

* Ipsa nunc quod aiunt Musa vivit.

‡ Basilea, 22 Martii, Anno 1517. C.

§ Tubinga, 21 Augusti, Anno 1516. C.

† See pp. 379, 531, 549.

‖ See p. 548.

by a secretary, is remarkable for the formal way in which Erasmus is addressed as 'your lordship' and 'your worship.' The Archbishop had, 22 Dec. 1515, resigned the post of Chancellor. He did not suspect, that his correspondent was actually on his road to London.

Epistle 538. Deventer MS.; C. 1597 (121).

Warham to Erasmus.

Most learned Erasmus, I have received your Worship's letter* of the 13th of February, in which you show how great are the hopes which beam upon you from all quarters. I wish I could upon that message congratulate you on your prosperity, as a thing not only promised but secured; for there is no one for whose welfare I am more desirous; and, if those hopes appear to be sure of success, I do not dissuade your Lordship† from embracing and cherishing a favouring Fortune. Whatever happens, you shall always find me what I promised to be, when you were here, that is, a constant friend for every time and event. I should invite your lordship speedily to return to England, so that I might enjoy your delightful company in my present retirement from legal business, but I do not wish to break in upon such hopes, or to give occasion to the loss of a fortune, which your lordship has to stretch out both hands to catch. But if you should look this way after the departure of your Prince,‡ it shall be my care to provide a convenient retreat for your studies.

You need be under no anxiety about the pension. I sent word to Maruffo within the last ten days to attend to the transmission of the money, and he has undertaken to send it you without discount or diminution, in such manner and

* litteras dignitatis tuæ. † dominatio tua.

‡ King Charles was preparing to go to Spain in March, 1517. He appears, in fact, not to have set sail from Middleburg until the 8th of September. Brewer, *Abstracts*, 3064, 3666.

form as has been agreed between your lordship and him. If there is anything else which I can do to accommodate your lordship, you will be wanting to yourself, if you do not confidently apply to me for it. Farewell.

Canterbury, 24 March, 1517.*

The above letter probably did not reach Erasmus's hands until his return to Antwerp, more than a month later. We have no information about the personal intercourse, which he may meantime have had with the Archbishop in England; but we can scarcely imagine, that Erasmus made his two journeys between Dover and London and stayed for some weeks in London or Westminster, without seeing his most liberal patron either at Canterbury or at Lambeth.

EPISTLE 539, dated the Tuesday after *Lætare* (the fourth Sunday in Lent), which in 1517 was the 24th of March, the same date as the letter last translated, was addressed to Erasmus from Basel by Wolphangus Faber (or Fabritius, see p. 379), who discusses at some length a passage in Erasmus's Commentary upon St. Matthew, which had been censured by some disputant, and adds a few sentences from what he had himself written on the subject in his forthcoming work upon Hebrew Literature. See p. 529. The conclusion of the letter has a more personal interest.

EPISTLE 539. Deventer MS.; C. 1597 (122).

Wolphangus Faber to Erasmus.

* * * * *

In your absence you are gaining new friends by your works, which excel in sincere religion as well as in infinite erudition. At Basel John Rudolph Halweiler,† that Canon, whom you thought little propitious to Good Letters, is now quite devoted to Erasmus, and at more than fifty years of age has this winter mastered the rudiments of Greek, in

* Ex Cantuaria 24. Martii, Anno 1517. † See p. 529.

order that he might fit himself for the study of the 'New Instrument.' In brief, he talks Erasmus, he dreams Erasmus, he has ordered his nephew, a boy of great promise, to be steeped in the choicest Erasmic teaching; and for this purpose, he takes the greatest pains to buy every book he can procure, which you have published; he is an admirer of the *Moria*, and has a special liking for the book *de Principe*.* I write this in order that you may guess from this one example, how much you are esteemed by others. I will write more carefully, when I have more leisure. Farewell. Froben is in a hurry to send off the messenger.

[Basel] Tuesday after Lætare [24 March], 1517.†

Petrus Mosellanus, who was apparently a schoolmaster of Leipzig, took advantage of the return of Richard Croke to England, to introduce himself by letter to Erasmus. See p. 525. It is of some interest to observe, that already in Germany the distinction between the gentleman by birth and the ordinary citizen was more distinctly marked than in England, and that Croke had been able to benefit by this distinction.

Epistle 540. Deventer MS.; C. 1596 (120).

Petrus Mosellanus to Erasmus.

Although I am naturally so diffident, that, being myself in every way of small account, I have never hitherto ventured to write to you or to any person of like importance, unless I had some special occasion to do so; nevertheless there are now many reasons why I should disregard my usual rule, and with brazen forehead obtrude an illiterate letter upon Erasmus. In the first place I am encouraged by your much lauded kindness, which is said to surpass even your most

* The *Institutio Principis Christiani*. See pp. 249, 250.

† Basilea 3. Feria post Lætare, Anno 1517. C.

perfect erudition, and in the next place my own spontaneous movement has been spurred on by Richard Croke, a young Englishman distinguished in Germany as well as in England, not only by his good birth, but by his knowledge of both literatures, who in our literary talk, whenever your name has been mentioned,—and that has been often enough,—has never ceased to exhort me to introduce myself to you, insisting that this would neither be disagreeable to you nor regretted by myself; inasmuch as your good nature was unsurpassed, and there was no one, even of the most ordinary persons, more accessible than you. Our Croke added, that he was himself on such good terms with you, that even on that account my letter might be more favourably received, if he was himself its bearer,—being then preparing to travel from this country to his own. Encouraged by this occasion, I have seized my pen, and written these lines, such as they are, to be delivered by Croke. If we have, either of us, done wrong, you will pardon your Croke for my transgression, as he has been the author,—the κορυφαῖος, as the Greeks say,—of this audacity of mine.

You will also give some weight to our love for you, the greatness of which may be argued from this, that in order to insinuate itself into your good graces, it has ventured to put on the mask of temerity. Finally, if this apology is not enough, I shall fly to Theophrastus, who will palliate the impertinence (if so you are pleased to call it) with which I have canvassed your friendship, by a more honorable interpretation, and will say with your Plutarch, πάντων μάλιστα δεῖν κοινοὺς τῶν φίλων εἶναι τοὺς φίλους,—there is nothing which friends should have in common so much as friends. I have so many friends in common with you,—and those not all of one group,—that you cannot well arrange them in order. First, there is Capnio himself, the Alpha of the learned, then Wilibald Pirckheimer, most honoured among scholars, and Philip Melancthon, a young man by your own

judgment most approved. If you do not exclude these, you will deign also to permit Mosellanus, a person not disagreeable to them, to write his name in the album of those, who, as they are earnest students of your lucubrations, are also devoted lovers of their author. Farewell, sole glory of our age.

Written at Leipzig, where we endeavour to teach both learned tongues, the 24th of March, 1517.*

Reuchlin writes to Erasmus on the 27th of March, 1517,† EPISTLE 541,—Deventer MS.; C. 1598 (123),—acknowledging a hasty letter written to him by his correspondent "among the thieves of the Calais shore" on the 27th of August, 1516.‡ He has directed Thomas Anselm to forward to Erasmus, from the March Fair, two copies of his new book *De Arte Cabalistica*, which he has ventured to dedicate to Pope Leo,—one copy for Erasmus himself, and the other for the Bishop of Rochester.

Epistle 542 is a letter of Joannes Œcolampadius, in which he expresses in rhapsodical language, which is not easily represented in English, his devoted attachment to Erasmus. A few sentences are here translated. It will be observed, that this letter was one of those selected by Erasmus, or his editor Beatus Rhenanus, for publication in the *Farrago Epistolarum* of 1519.

EPISTLE 542. Farrago, p. 198; Epist. vii. 42; C. 235 (238).

Œcolampadius to Erasmus.

Where in this wide world shall I seek for you, my glory, my delight? In what distant country shall I find you? After so long an absence I am now sensible, with what wealth I was enriched, what pleasures I enjoyed at Basel.

* Lipsia * * * 24 Martii, Anno 1517. C.

† 27. Martii, Anno 1517. C.

‡ inter prædones littorales Caletii. See pp. 372, 373; Epistle 446.

But I must be content, if I can only be sure that you know, how in mind we can never be divided. Your love still survives; your eloquence still charms my ear. Your frequent use of proverbs, your praise of the best of men,—of More in civil, of Colet in religious life,—your maxims are still in my ears, especially that golden rule, that in our sacred studies Christ alone is to be sought. * *

I have forgotten from time to time my own insignificance, being occupied in admiration of you; while I have kissed that small but dearest memorial of our friendship, *the opening words of the Gospel of St. John*,† and placing my hand upon those words, the most sacred oath that a Christian can use, have devoted myself to Erasmus. I was going to give that present to my mother, had not Erasmus been so dear to me. I had hung it on my Crucifix, before which I pour forth my prayers; that so I might commend you and your fortune to Jesus, and might not, even in my devotions, be separated from the thought of you. That treasure I imprudently showed to some of my acquaintance, boasting of its having come to me from my sweetest friend, with the result, that some Harpy has stolen it away, to my no small distress, but without any risk of weakening my remembrance of you. I intended also to attach to my Crucifix the note which you wrote me,—I think from Spires,—if I had not been frightened by the theft; but I still read it often in secret, and bestow on it many a kiss. * *

I am comparing Jerome's translations with the Hebrew copies, which are scarcely ever out of my hands, and have with me a young man of like taste and ardour for study, John Brenz,‡ who is devoted to your name. We are preparing a tablet in honour of the genuine writings of Jerome.§

† *ἀρχὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου κατὰ Ἰωάννην.*

‡ Joannes Brentius, a Swabian reformer, b. 1499, d. 1570. Horawitz, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, p. 121.

§ Paramus *πεινακίδιον* in germana divi Hieronymi opera.

I also find amusement in a tragedy, the Nemesis of Theophilus; but I do not yet see the conclusion, though there are some fifteen hundred verses done. I have attempted a thing beyond my limited power, and doubt the result; it would therefore have been better not to mention it, but remembering my promise, I could not omit to do so. I will do my best with God's help, to be worthy of your notice.

Philip Melanchthon often writes to me, always mentioning you with admiration, and desiring to be commended to you; a person plainly worthy of Erasmus's love, who may himself become a second Erasmus. * * *

Farewell.

From our native cavern at Weinsberg, the 26th of March, 1517.†

Marianus Accardus, the Sicilian of whom we have a letter dated on the 1st of March (p. 513), writes again to Erasmus on the 1st of April, 1517. He congratulates himself on the immortality conferred upon him by exchanging letters with so distinguished a correspondent.

EPISTLE 543. Deventer MS.; C. 1599 (124).

Marianus Accardus to Erasmus.

* * * * *

Allured by this hope, I have cast off the modest shame, which your letters first inspired; for I cannot deny that those who know you and know me, will as they read them, see in me a jack-daw clad in peacock's feathers. But posterity will maintain, that it was a peacock indeed, and judge me happy in having received praise,—in which my ghost will rejoice—from such a man. For a favour which will be immortal, I return you endless thanks.

† Ex specu nostro natalitio Vinimontano 26 Martii, Anno 1517. C. Œcolampadius was born at Weinsberg near Heilbronn in Würtemberg.

I am overwhelmed at present with so much business, and especially with Sicilian matters, that I have scarcely time to breathe. When I can get clear of them, I propose to go to you, to make a third in the friendly company of you, and Peter Gillis; nothing could occur to me more dear or more desired. Meantime, please give me a letter, and that of the longest. The longer your letters, the more agreeable they are; and they have this peculiar charm, that they never satiate, and on the first glance elevate my thoughts.

Farewell, chief master of either tongue, and love me, as you are used to do. Salute Peter Gillis in my name.

Brussels, in haste, 1 April, 1517.*

In EPISTLE 544,—Deventer MS.; C. 1554 (56),—dated the 3rd of April, [1517] † Peter Barbier, the Secretary of the Minister, Le Sauvage, acknowledged the receipt, some days back, of two letters from Erasmus; the absence of Le Sauvage having delayed the writer's answer. Erasmus's presence at Brussels was a pleasure to the writer and to Guy (Morillon), but they are both glad, that his health has improved elsewhere, and that he has been able to do so much for literature. The writer has spoken with his lord about sending money to Erasmus at Easter; but he was advised to wait patiently till Whitsuntide, when he might hope to receive his pension for a year and a half. The writer proposes to send the money for the works of Jerome, when he receives the book, and if the *Moria* is sent, then for that too. He sends his brother's greeting and that of Guy, with his own, to Peter Gillis. It appears from the above, that in some letter which has not survived, Erasmus, excusing himself for not waiting upon the Prince and Minister, had pleaded not only his literary occupations, but that his health was better at Antwerp than at Brussels.

Budé addressed to Erasmus on Palm Sunday [5 April, 1517], a letter of moderate length (as compared with his other letters), a great part of which is written in Greek,—in some measure, we may suppose, on account of its confidential character. Neither of the two letters of Erasmus mentioned in the first clause of Budé's letter has

* Ex Bruxellis raptim 1. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

been preserved. The drafts were probably destroyed at the time on account of the private character of their contents. Epistle 545 is of some interest, not only as it concerns Erasmus's personal anxieties, but also as affording a glimpse of the French Court under Francis I. in its less formal life in the country. The *pagus Sammorius* of this letter appears to be Samoreau, where the King had a castle, not far from Fontainebleau. In order to give a more accurate idea of the composition of this letter, the words, which in the original are Greek, are represented by italics.

Epistle 545. Deventer MS.; C. 1556 (60).

Budé to Erasmus.

I have received two short letters from you, one (which was half Greek) without date, the other written on the Feast of the Annunciation. To the first I replied at the time, that I could not then answer it properly, having nothing certain to say; and to the other I have scarcely any answer to give. *Since the day when I gave your letter to the King, the Court has been continually absent from town, and the King himself frequently changing his residence, and indeed running about wherever the deer shed their horns.* * * * *At last I fell in with the King as he was going to Church. His confessor,* William Petit, who happened to be there, *thought that it was a good opportunity for me to speak to the King;* but this did not suit me, as I wanted an occasion when there were no flies about. *The King* was then in the Sammorian country, where I have myself a villa half-finished. When he recognised me,—"Where," said he, "are *those writings of Erasmus, which I wanted you to translate?*" These I produced, and he said he would read them; and then went on to Church. On his return I met him again without intending to do so, in the presence of William Petit, who is a friend of mine, and very favourable to you, upon the

supposition that you are going to become a Courtier. This I have allowed him and others to assume,—among them is one *who taught the King, when a boy, the rudiments of Grammar. This is my own conductor,* who first introduced me to the King.* "Well," said *the King*, "what does Erasmus propose to do? That is not explained in my letter." "Certainly," said I, "that can scarcely be gathered from *your Majesty's* letter."† "But has he written more plainly to you?" When I had given the answer which I thought expedient for the matter *we are privately arranging*, that other person of those *present, who had been the King's instructor in his childhood*, made the following observation. "*If your Majesty wishes Erasmus to be brought to the Palace, this, if any one (indicating me) is the person to do it, as they are on intimate terms with each other.* For indeed *in my conversation* I had made some boast, that if *I found the King to be suitably disposed*, I could accomplish this on the ground of friendship. *For this was the idea I entertained, since I received your message expressed in Greek, which I have not communicated to any one, being unwilling to betray your views, or the condition of affairs in that quarter: that being your own command.* But on hearing his old instructor's observation, *the King turned to me*, and asked me what I had to say. "If," said I, "you give me a full commission to treat with Erasmus, I will venture to promise, that he will not reject my advice." He then said, "I wish you to do so;" and straightway went off to dinner, *without any further assurance being given. Upon this I said, half-despairing, to those who had introduced me, that unless some better security was provided for Erasmus*, I would never write about the matter, as I saw no such hope as might dispense with further assurance.

Yesterday I called upon the Bishop of Paris on your

* *ὁ ἐμὸς χειραγωγός.*

† Certe, inquam, *ὦ βασιλεῦ*, ex literis tuis parum id intelligi potest.

account, and after waiting more than three hours, during which he was engaged in important business, I saw him at last, *and explained to him the whole mystery*, for which purpose I even produced your letters. It would be tedious to tell all that passed ; *but the main point is this*,—he has the greatest regard for you, and shows his partiality most plainly, having your name on his lips at table every other sentence he utters, when the conversation turns upon any subject of the kind ; he said he would try what could be done, and let me know. *To sum the matter up, I should say, that the condition of things is such, that while we ought not to be too confident, I do not reckon the matter to be decided against us.*

As I am going away to-morrow, or perhaps to-day, I have thought it best to write to you, so that you might know *the state of things here*, and take advice *about affairs there.* * * *

If you think fit, you will write to the Bishop of Paris ; perhaps I shall also suggest to you another time, to write *again to the King*, if I think your interest suffers by being forgotten. I am not returning till the 22nd or 24th of April.

Germain Brice, Archdeacon of Albia,† your old pupil, is much interested in your behalf; he is now the Queen's Secretary. I sent him the letter, which you wrote to me, and found it difficult to get him to return it. He is learned in both tongues, and I should be very fond of him, if he did not think more of you than of me. Farewell.

Paris, Palm Sunday [5 April, 1517].‡

Germain Brice sends Erasmus, probably with the last, a letter, dated from Paris, the 6th of April [1517],§ EPISTLE 546—*Farrago*, p. 55 ;

† Archidiaconus Albiensis. Albia, or Albi, in the region of Toulouse, gave its name to the Albigenses.

‡ Parisiis Ramaliorum die, Anno 1516. C.

§ Parisiis 6 Aprilis, Anno 1516. C.

Epist. iv. 8; C. 252 (253),—in which he eulogizes Bishop Poncher, who had returned from Brussels to Paris, full of the praises of Erasmus; and concludes a long letter, by expressing the hope, that Erasmus will allow himself to be tempted by the King's invitation.

EPISTLE 547,—Deventer MS.; C. 1599 (125),—dated in the house of St. Mary's Chapel near Enghien on the 6th of April, 1517,* conveys to Erasmus the salutation of Joannes Harenacius, a Carthusian monk.

EPISTLE 548,—*Auctarium Epistolarum*, p. 68; Epist. ii. 29; C. 252 (253),—is a letter of some length addressed by Tunstall to Budé, which appears to have been written in fulfilment of a promise made for the writer by Erasmus. It has no date in *Auctarium* or *Opus Epistolarum*.†

After the preceding notice of the extant correspondence of Erasmus dated during the last ten days of March and the first week of April, 1517, we may turn to some documents which relate to an important incident in his life. It has been already stated, p. 527, that Erasmus left Antwerp on or about the 22nd of March, 1517, for the purpose of visiting England, and completing the business of his Dispensation under the authority delegated by the Pope to Ammonius by the instrument which has been included in our series as Epistle 499. See pp. 460-463. We have no further information as to his movements until the 9th of April, when we find him at the house of Ammonius in the Cloister of St. Stephen at Westminster. On that day, and at that place,—as we read in the official document, which Erasmus carefully preserved, and which is now in the University Library at Basel,‡ upon the humble petition of Erasmus Roterodamus to Andreas Ammonius, the Pope's collector in England, the latter did by Apostolic Authority, in the accustomed form used in the Church, absolve him from excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures by him incurred in consequence of his abandoning his monastic dress and going about for many years in the habit of a secular priest, and in further pursuance of the power delegated to him by the same Apostolic Authority,

* In domo Capellæ divæ Mariæ prope Angiam 6. Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

† Bruxellis, Anno 1517. C.

‡ The documents relating to the Dispensation were printed in full by Professor Wilhelm Vischer of Basel in 1876. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, pp. 16-30.

granted him a general Dispensation.* The document whereby this proceeding was completed, which is entered in our Register of Epistles as EPISTLE 549, was on the day above mentioned signed by Ammonius in his prebendal house at the Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster,† and subscribed by Doctor John Sixtinus, as a witness present at the said Absolution and Dispensation. It may be remembered that Doctor Sixtinus, who was a Frieslander by birth, was one of Erasmus's oldest friends in England. See vol. i. p. 209.

Soon after his arrival in this country, Erasmus appears to have communicated by letter with John Babham, an English friend, of whom we have not before heard, at this time resident at Oxford. A short note in reply, EPISTLE 550, dated at that place the 12th of April, [1517],‡ is preserved among the Deventer Manuscripts, C. 1778 (391). This epistle is not of importance; and contains nothing to throw any further light upon the movements of Erasmus, or upon the writer's connection with him.

The following letter of Tunstall to Erasmus was written at Antwerp during the visit of Erasmus to England, in answer to two letters of Erasmus, which have not survived.

EPISTLE 551. Deventer MS.; C. 1603 (131).

Cuthbert Tunstall to Erasmus.

I have received two letters from you, my Erasmus, in both of which you urge me to write to Budé, as in fact I did some time ago in the midst of a stress of business, partly to ingratiate myself with a learned man, and partly to discharge the promise you had made for me. But it may be, you had promised Pounds, whereas I have scarcely paid pence; in

* Absolvimus in forma ecclesie consueta . . . necnon cum eodem . . . dispensamus in omnibus et per omnia.

† In domo prebende mee in sacello d. Stephani prope Westmon. die 9. aprilis 1517. Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 28.

‡ Oxonio 12. Aprilis. C.

any case he must make the best of his bargain, inasmuch as there was no other coin to be found in the locker ; and I therefore foresee the utter ruin of your credit with him, having so grievously disappointed the expectation excited by your letter. But Milesian Thales bade avoid a pledge.* If you take warning by this experiment, you will not make yourself responsible for others, where there is no occasion to do so, and will learn at last to be more sparing in commendation of your friends.†

In your last letter you ask my advice about going to France, whereas I do not know what this new hope is, which you say has dawned upon you. I purposely put off answering you about that matter by letter, in order that I might tell you my opinion by word of mouth, but you had left this place the day before I arrived. We have been here now for thirty days on account of the Easter solemnity, but shall soon change our quarters, as we are playing now a comedy of motion, and not a stationary performance, as was usual when we were at Brussels. You will therefore excuse my having given you no notice of my coming, which was not known with certainty to myself before the day on which I was ordered to withdraw to this place.‡ On dismounting from my horse I charged one of the servants to look for you everywhere in the town, and not to come back till he had found you. He brought back from our Gillis the unwelcome news, that you had gone away the day before ; but it was hoped that you would shortly return. Five days after I heard from some English Merchants, that you had crossed the Channel, and had been seen by them at Dover, just as you landed from your ship. Therefore, as I can no longer expect to see you soon, I will tell you by letter what I had intended to say in

* Ἐγγύαν φεύγειν Θαλῆς Μιλήσιος ηὔδα.

† Tunstall's letter was highly appreciated by Budé, who received it on the 6th of May. See Epistle 561.

‡ quo iussus eras [*read* eram] huc concedere.

person. I wish to regard your interest as if it was my own, and if any terms were offered that were worthy of you, I should think they ought not to be disregarded. But, good Heavens, my Erasmus, what substantial hope can there be for you in France, when the most cultivated of their own people, who are followers of letters, can scarcely find any patrons there, as Budé himself, the Glory of his country, bewails not a little in his Commentaries? In that land the soldier's trade is in such esteem, that it is now the fashion, if report is to be trusted, to affect an ignorance of Letters, for fear of appearing more ready with the tongue than with the sword. And as for the Theology of the Sorbonne, you know yourself, what regard that institution has for men of learning.

But you tell me, that a friend has written to you by the King's command. I should like to know, whether he has more influence with the King, than a certain person, whose name I do not recollect, has *with your own King,—you know what I mean.** I could not quite make out by your letter, on what foundation that expectation rests, and am afraid, that your friends in France, being desirous of seeing you there, have exaggerated the King's command in order to attract you to them, and have made an elephant out of a gnat.

There is another thing that dwells in my mind. I have often heard you say, that the climate of France, mild as it is, is unfavourable to your health. Will you then trust yourself at your present age to a country where you could hardly bear to live in the flower of youth? I think it will be better for you to pass the rest of your life at ease, either in your native land, or in some other country that you have found to agree with you equally well, than to go abroad in pursuit of new hopes to the detriment of your health; for it cannot be that Erasmus is in want either of friends or of money. I

* The words in Italic type are Greek in original.

have given you my opinion, which I might have expressed at greater length, if we had met; but as I am now somewhat busy, I have thought right to set it down laconically, that I may not appear by my silence to neglect a friend who asks my counsel. Farewell.

Antwerp, 22 April, 1517.†

Epistle 552 is a letter addressed by Niccolò Sagondino, the Secretary of Giustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador in London, to Marcus Musurus, the new Archbishop of Monovasia ‡ (see vol. i. pp. 31, 440, 441, ii. 528); a copy of which appears to have been sent by the author to Erasmus upon his request conveyed through More. Epistles 563, 570, pp. 561, 571. After congratulating his correspondent, who will be much missed by the students at Venice, with whom the writer associates himself, he expresses the hope of meeting him at Rome, which he proposes to visit before long. He has lately had frequent opportunities of seeing Erasmus, whose presence in England he attributes to a mistaken cause. The following extract from the latter part of the letter is somewhat abridged in our translation.

Epistle 552. Deventer MS.; C. 1601 (130).

Nicolaus Sagundinus to Marcus Musurus.

* * * *

We have often encountered Erasmus, who has lately arrived here, having been sent for, as I judge, by the English king, from whom I am confident he will obtain a handsome fortune; you are not unaware, how well he deserves whatever fortune can be attained by any man. I was glad to tell him of your own promotion, and he was delighted to hear of your success. Thomas More was with us at the time, one of

† Antuerpia 22 Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

‡ Monovasia or Malvasia (perhaps from the Greek *μονεμβασία*, one inlet), was a seaport on the east coast of the Morea, from which wine of Malvasy, or Malmsey, was exported.

London's chief citizens, whose name, I doubt not, is well known to you, and whose wit and eloquence are universally extolled. To him I have devoted my whole self, and he is good enough to receive me with kindness and affection. He is delighted to hear of your new dignity.

It remains for me to entreat you to honour me with a reply, which will make me the happiest of men. Farewell.

London, 22 April, 1517.*

EPISTLE 553,—Deventer MS., C. 1600 (129)—is a letter from Cornelius Batt (son of Erasmus's old friend, James Batt) to his patron, Erasmus, dated at Groningen, 20 April, 1517. This young man appears to have sought out Erasmus in England soon after the death of his father, and to have been kindly received by him, and furnished with money, and with recommendatory letters to John Borssele and the Prince of Veer. He had since that time been settled for more than two years at Groningen in Friesland, as under-master in a school, where his payment was scarcely more than enough to clothe him; boarding with a gentleman whose sons he instructed. He was longing at this time to return to Brabant, and hoped to hear from Erasmus.

The letter of Erasmus (mentioned in the first paragraph of the following epistle), which reached Beatus on Good Friday, April 10, 1517, has not survived.

EPISTLE 554. Deventer MS.; C. 1604 (134).

Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus.

Your letter was delivered to me by Bruno on Good Friday. You have no occasion to find fault with the publication here of the first book of Theodore's Grammar; the book was brought hither by a printer from Louvain, who wanted to sell it, and, if Froben had not bought it from him

* Londino 22 Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

by giving him a Copy of the New Testament, it would have been printed elsewhere, as there were many persons after it. Please send anything else you have of Theodore's that is translated,* and it shall be printed at once. You have heard by Nesen's letter, written from Frankfurt, of Lachner's proposal. Whatever you send, whether your own or not, which has been edited or corrected or translated by you, they will accept, and show themselves most grateful for it. I have almost been at war myself with Froben, while I have been getting your "War" separately printed. He came panting to my house, begging and beseeching me to supply him with some little work for his press, so that he might not be forced to take holiday after finishing the *Copia*, until Lachner returns from Frankfurt. It is quite his plan, to come and ask for copy, when he has nothing left to employ his workmen ; I brought out your *Sileni* and he accepted it. I looked into his printing office next day, and Good Heavens ! how indignantly I heard him complaining about himself and me. It seemed, forsooth, that he was of that stamp of printers that issue popular ballads : he did not care for trifling publications of that kind, and I had not been treating him as a friend, when I put into his hands these leaflets and not proper volumes. I was no little touched by this sad tragedy of Froben ; but seeing that your interest, or rather the interest of all students, was at stake, I restrained myself, and by a succession of prayers, and threats, and blandishments, contrived at last to get the *Bellum* and the *Scarabeus* printed again ; they are afraid this separate publication may damage the sale of the *Adages*.

It is beyond description, what a love they have for large volumes. That is how they were induced to print the work

* Mitte tu si quid præterea Theodoricum habes quod sit versum. C. It appears from a letter of Joannes Juliacensis to Erasmus, Epistle 584, that Erasmus supplied the Preface to the First Book of Theodore's Grammar.

of Cælius.* This work had been recommended by John Œcolampadius before it was seen; and after it was brought, I advised its production in a moderate number of copies; but they preferred his and their own counsel; its great merit in their eyes being that it was a Summary. Indeed Lachner's thoughts are quite set upon works of that kind. He wishes to have printed this summer in the Froben Press a certain 'Solemn Compilation' (so the title runs) of one Alvaro, a Spaniard and Papal Penitentiary, upon the power of the Pope and Cardinals; what it will turn out, I do not know.† Chrysostom is also to be published, but in that small type, in which they printed the Commentaries of Jerome. What a shameful impropriety! Here, as in other human transactions, Fortune plays her game. The books of impostors, of drones and of dunces are published in the handsomest way, and those of learned men most negligently, as if it were not enough for their authors to be for the most part poorer men, but their literary monuments must after their death suffer the tyranny of Fortune.

Your Commentaries *de Copia* are printed neatly enough; I took charge of them myself in my afternoon walk, in which I sometimes look in at Froben's office. His corrector is not without instruction, and takes pains to learn, from Fabritius or Bruno or me, about anything he does not understand.

Glarean is going before the beginning of June to France, where he is to have a hundred and fifty francs‡ a year. What you always said of him has come to pass: his character has become gentle and kind, and is more so every day. He has

* See p. 529. The work of Cælius,—*Ludovici Cælii Rhodigeni Lectiones Antiquæ*,—had been printed by Aldus, in folio, 1516; and the enlarged Basel edition was four times reprinted. We read of Cælius at Ferrara, p. 592; and many years later, 22 April, 1529, he writes from Milan to Erasmus. C. 1187 (1046)

† This publication appears to have been given up. See p. 555.

‡ Centum et quinquaginta francos.

not been too proud to ask my advice upon any question of grammar or history, which he did not understand; and when Wimpfling lately made an attack upon him, he disregarded it in a magnanimous and truly Christian way.

Our friend Capito's 'Institutions on the Hebrew Tongue' are ready for publication. Let me know by letter, whether you wish your translations from Lucian to be published here.

Baer is at Tann. Commend me to your friends. Farewell, my beloved father and revered preceptor. My greeting to John Smith.

Basel, 24 April, 1517.*

Epistle 555, addressed to Erasmus by John Watson is without date, but was evidently written during Erasmus's stay in England, or before his departure was known to the writer, as the latter invites his correspondent to pay him a visit at Cambridge. Watson was still resident at Peterhouse, but was proposing shortly to remove to his parsonage at Elsworth, having been lately presented to the rectory of that parish. See pp. 333, 453, 550.

It appears from the second clause of the following letter, that Erasmus in some communication with Watson, which has not been preserved, alluding to his scholastic and theological studies, had called him a Scotist. Watson addresses his correspondent as *Præceptor*, probably in remembrance of the Greek lectures of Erasmus at Cambridge, by which he may have benefited. Compare p. 333.

Epistle 555. Deventer MS.; C. 1882 (500).

John Watson to Erasmus.

It is indeed good of you, my kind Teacher, to condescend to address a letter to one like myself, who cannot reply to your favour by any pleasing attention or any compensating benefit, and can only vie with you in kind thoughts and good wishes.

* Ex Basilea 24 Aprilis, Anno 1517. C.

You not only do not find fault with my letter, which might frighten me from writing, but you invite me to write by your approval, giving me a cuff at the same time, to prevent my growing proud ; for when you call me Scotist, you obscurely charge me, if I am not mistaken, with ill directed study.* I frankly confess, I am not such a Scotist as I should like to be, although it is decreed, that I shall not proceed further than I have done, inasmuch as I have solemnly resolved to devote whatever life is left me to Sacred studies alone. But to lay my humble self before a friend and patron, I am neither Thomist nor Scotist, nothing indeed but an idle log.

I congratulate your fortune ; but shall rejoice much more, when hope deferred, which afflicts the heart, has been changed to a present certainty. That this may come to pass, shall be my daily prayer, and most of all, that a fortune worthy of you may befall you in such a way, that you may become an ornament to this realm, and so benefit your friends here, of whom you have so many.

I have been presented to a benefice within seven miles of Cambridge. There is a good house ; the place is fairly convenient for residence, and the living worth twenty of our Pounds beyond all annual deductions ; but for the first year about half of the income will be devoted to the repair of the house. If this preferment of mine can in any way conduce to your pleasure or advantage, it is at your service, as every thing else I have is yours as much as mine. I only wish you would pay us a visit here as soon as your affairs will allow. If I were not myself involved in a multitude of business, I should fly to London to enjoy your society. Farewell, kindest of patrons.

* Cum me Scotistam appellas, si recte censeo, me σκοτῶς et obscure insimulas male locati studii. We should perhaps read σκοτοῖς (for the 2nd person singular of the verb σκοτόω) you darken me, you throw a shadow over me.

I hear that Bullock is ill, but I do not know what his ailment is.

St. Peter's College, Cambridge, [April, 1517].*

At the end of April, 1517, Richard Croke, returning from Leipzig to England (see Epistles 535, 540), was at Frankfurt in the company of Henry Stromer, who appears to have been a physician in the service of the archbishop of Mayence. Stromer writes a short note to Erasmus, dated 30 April, 1517, to be conveyed to him by Croke,—Epistle 556, Deventer MS., C. 1605 (136),—in which mention is made of an invitation which had been sent on behalf of the Archbishop to Erasmus, who is urged to write in reply. There is nothing in the letter to show, whether the writer was aware that his correspondent was then, or had lately been, in England. Croke was probably expecting to meet him in Flanders.

During this visit to Westminster Erasmus did not fail to present himself at Court. In a letter addressed to Wolsey on the 9th of September following,—Epistle 629,—he alludes to the condescension with which the Cardinal had received him. He appears to have remained in England until the last days of April, our information upon this subject being derived from a letter written to More about a month later (Epistle 563), from which it appears that he landed in France upon his return journey on the 1st of May, 1517. Of a visit to Bishop Fisher, which he probably made at Rochester, on his way to the coast, some account will be found in the Bishop's letter translated in the following chapter. See Epistle 566.

* Cantabrigia ex Collegio divi Petri. C. No date of time.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Return of Erasmus from Westminster to Antwerp. Visit to Rochester. Residence at Antwerp resumed. Letter to More. Letters from Bullock, Beatus, Baer, Fisher, Dorpius, and others. May, June, 1517. Epistles 557-571.

ERASMUS'S visit to England in 1517,—his latest sojourn in this country,—appears to have lasted some four or five weeks. The latter days of April and the first days of May were spent in his return journey from Westminster to Antwerp; and it was probably during this journey, and in the cathedral city of Rochester, that he made his short stay with Bishop Fisher, of which we shall find some notice in Epistle 566. But it should be observed, that during the whole of this English visit, and for several days after, we have no letters of Erasmus himself, the last written before his departure from Antwerp being the suppressed letter to Ammonius, Epistle 533, dated at Antwerp the 15th of March, or perhaps the letter to Afinius (Epistle 536), which has no date of day; and his next extant letter, the first after his return to the Low Countries, being his letter to More, Epistle 563, also without date of day, but apparently written at Antwerp about the end of May, some four weeks after his return. It will be observed, that in our Register of Epistles of this period, mainly derived from the miscellaneous manuscript collection preserved by Erasmus himself and now at Deventer,* the letters of his correspondents are out of all proportion more numerous than his own. In our Register of Epistles from Epistle 537 to Epistle 571,—the whole of Chapters xxxvi, xxxvii,—there is only one letter of Erasmus

* Concerning this Collection, see the Introduction to our former volume, p. xxvi.

himself,—Epistle 563, addressed to More, which was printed in the *Farrago Epistolarum* of 1519.†

Erasmus had left Westminster on his return journey to Antwerp before the date of the following letter from Henry Bullock, a Cambridge friend, who is mentioned at the end of Watson's letter (Epistle 555), and with whom he had corresponded during his visit to England in the preceding year. Epistles 436, 441. The convent and church of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers, at Cambridge, appear to have been on the site now occupied by Emanuel College.

Epistle 557. Deventer MS. ; C. 1557 (61).

Henry Bullock to Erasmus.

At sermon-time the other day at the Friars Preachers, I had my usual talk with Brian, a person dear to me beyond all others except yourself ; and among other things he told me, to my great comfort, that you had come back to England in good health. I should have sent you a letter by him, if he had not left us in such a hurry. I am now obliged to get some one to write for me, having been suffering for some time with a serious illness, during which my survival has been more expected by my doctor than by myself. Now, thank Heaven, I am a little recovered. * *

I have for some months been lecturing upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, in which I have found more help from your short and most charming notes than from the longest commentaries of others, especially in the more difficult questions that occur. I have got by a lucky chance a very old copy, which I have shown to my class, and which in almost all

† In this survey of the extant letters of Erasmus from March 22 to June 29, 1517, no account is taken of the Dedication of a dialogue of Lucian to Eutychius, which is included among the epistles (Epistle 562) and ascribed to the latter month.

cases agrees with what you say is found in the oldest Latin manuscripts.*

In my daily service, as long as I was well, I made mention,—as becomes so deeply obliged a disciple,—not only of you, but of all those whom I knew to have befriended you, or to be now your friends. I pray God to give you a long and happy life.

Cambridge, 1 May [1517].†

An epistle from the same correspondent, signed, Bovillus tuus discipulus, and dated three days after the last, 4 May, 1517,‡—EPISTLE 558, Deventer MS., C. 1606 (137),—was evidently written in answer to a letter or message meantime received from Erasmus, in which he had mentioned in an apologetic way the inclusion of an earlier letter of Bullock (Epistle 436) in the collection of Epistles published at Louvain in the preceding October.§ The writer protests, that he is delighted at the honour conferred upon him by the publication of his letter.

In Epistle 559 Beatus sends Erasmus an account of the activity of Froben's press. The work, which he mentions, of Galeotus Martius Narniensis *De Homine* (with annotations of Georgius Merula Alexandrinus) is a small 4to volume, a handsome example of Froben's press.‖ There is no indication in this epistle, or in Epistle 554, written by the same correspondent a fortnight before, that Beatus had any suspicion, that Erasmus had been absent for a time from the

* It is not quite clear, whether Bullock's manuscript was a copy of the Greek text or of the Vulgate; I incline to think, the latter.

† Ex Cantabrigia 1. Maji, Anno 1516. C.

‡ Ex Cantabrigia, quarto nonas Maias. *Deventer MS.* 5. Maji, Anno 1517. C. These dates are not the same; probably an unintentional deviation.

§ *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum ad Erasmum*, etc. See the Introduction to our former volume, p. xxviii. The title was probably suggested by that of the *Epistolæ clarorum virorum ad Reuchlinum* etc. which appears to have been published in 1514.

‖ It is dated at the end: Basileae apud Ioannem Frobenium, mense Maio anno m.d.xvii. The copy in the British Museum has the autograph, on the title page, of Archbp. Cranmer, (*Thomas Cantuareñ*).

Low Countries. In the letter before us we find mention of the *Epistles of Obscure Men*.* The first book under this title appears to have been printed in 1516; and a later volume at Basel in 1517. They are clever fooling, and may be mainly ascribed to Ulrich von Hutten. The title (given below), was an obvious parody on that of the recently published volume of correspondence of Reuchlin. See the note, in the last page, upon this title and the similar title chosen by Erasmus.

Epistle 559. Deventer MS.; C. 1606 (138).

Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus.

Hearing that John Weiler,—a citizen of Basel, born in England but of a German father,—is travelling to Antwerp; I must not let him go without a letter to you, in which I can explain more clearly what I wrote rather indistinctly in my last letter.

The Chrysostom is being printed in that minute type at two presses; and a small work of Galeotus Narniensis,† *De Homine*, is also being printed at two presses. The 'solemn compilation' of Alvaro appears to be wiped out.‡

Some great bundles of your lucubrations are daily expected. As soon as they are brought, everything else will be postponed, and Froben's Press will print nothing but Erasmus. They are wondering, that you have not yet sent anything, but suppose the carrier to be on his way.

I have reminded Baer to write. Our friend, Fabritius Capito, is now Rector of the University here; and he too is going to write to you.

We are all sorry, that for the third time some idle witlings have brought your name everywhere into their nonsense; I mean the new collection of *Epistles of Obscure Men*.

* *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum ad venerabilem M. Ortuinum Gratium* etc.

† Galeotti Harmiensis. C. See the observations in the last page.

‡ solennis compilatio (sic videtur) in spongiam incubuit. See p. 548.

If they choose to indulge in this sort of folly, they ought not to mix any one else's name in it.

We suppose you have already received from Cologne the *Copia* which has been printed here,—together with our letter.* Lachner desires to be commended to you; he promises to show his gratitude in dealing with your labours. About the revision of the works of Augustine, you shall hear something next September, as he intends to talk this matter over at Frankfurt with Comberg of Nuremberg.

Your Paraphrase of the Apostolic Epistles is looked for with impatience. The work on the Composition of Epistles, the *Antibarbari*, and the revised and enlarged *Copia* are desired by all students.

Thomas Grey† has lately written to ask my advice, whether he should take flight hither in case of war breaking out between the French and English. I will let him know my views by Glarean, who is now undergoing a cure at the Baths in his own country,—to go clean, before the month is over, to France! He will soon be coming from Paris, to find you out, wherever you are living, whether at Antwerp, Brussels or Bruges.

You will find inclosed a copy of a letter of Franciscus Julius Calvus, bookseller of Pavia, to John Froben.

Farewell, my beloved father and venerated teacher. My salutation to John Smith.‡

Basel, 10 May, 1517.§

In the above letter we are reminded of the *Antibarbari*, an early work, upon which Erasmus had spent considerable pains, and part of which appears to have been lost. See vol. i. pp. 100, 101. The first book was printed at Cologne in 1518.

* Epistle 554, in which the reprinting of the Copia is described, p. 548.

† Thomas Greyus Anglus. See vol. i. p. 115.

‡ Salvus sit Jo. Smith Anglus. See p. 92.

§ Basilea 10. Maii, Anno 1517. C.

The same messenger probably conveyed to Antwerp EPISTLE 560,—Deventer MS., C. 1607 (139),—from Lewis Baer, the Dean of the University of Basel, to whom Erasmus appears to have addressed a letter dated the 13th of March, 1517 (which has not survived), mentioning the invitations he had received from the King of France, from 'several Pontiffs,'* from the Cardinal of Toledo, from the English Court, and from other Princes. The present writer heartily wishes that his correspondent would return to Basel, where he would find a more modest retreat, but one that was honourable, healthy, safe, quiet and cheerful, such as the Muses love. Froben is anxious to have him again, and has often said that he was ready to give him a hundred *aurei*† every year, if he would return and live with him; and for himself, the writer devotes his life and fortune to the service of Erasmus, and begs him to say, whether there is any hope of his return. Glarean and several young Swiss scholars are going to the University of Paris, where they are to receive salaries from the king. The Bishop of Basel has been cheered by Erasmus's letter to Baer with its civil message to him, and returns his greeting. The epistle here described is dated from the writer's house at Basel on the 11th of May, 1517.‡

By a long letter, dated at Paris, 19 May§ (which is printed with the correspondence of Erasmus), EPISTLE 561,—*Auctarium*, p. 76; Epist. ii. 30; C. 239 (249),—Budé, writing to Tunstall, acknowledges the receipt of Epistle 548, which had been written by the suggestion of Erasmus, and by which Budé appears to have been gratified. As he read Tunstall's letter, he was conscious, how much he owed to Erasmus, with whom he had lately made a bargain, that any friendship either might form, should be common to both of them.

Epistle 562 was written as a Preface to a translation of the dialogue of Lucian, entitled *The Banquet*, published, with some other translations from the same author, at Basel in 1521. In reading this letter with its allusions to theological disputes, the reader might almost suppose, that he was already in the midst of the controversies of twenty years later.

* A plurimis pontificibus. Bishops and Archbishops. The phrase is probably that of Erasmus himself. Compare p. 568.

† The *aurei* are probably gold florins.

‡ Ex ædibus nostris, Basilea 11. Maji, Anno 1517. C.

§ Parisijs 14. Calendas Junias. *Auctarium.*

EPISTLE 562. Luciani Opuscula, ed. Basil. 1521, p. 217; Epist. xxix. 10; Erasmi Opera, ed. Cler. i. 329.

Erasmus to Joannes Eutychius.

Although this dialogue of Lucian, most learned Eutychius, is composed with more than usual skill, in maintaining a marvellous aptitude in so many different characters, nevertheless I have met with a number of persons, who maintained that it ought to be suppressed, inasmuch as it so freely, and as it were, ἐξ ἀμάξης,* attacks the Philosophers of every sort. But for my own part I think, there is still more reason to find fault with the character of our own age, in which we see the schools of Philosophers and Theologians divided among themselves in a more childish fashion, and drawing their swords with no less fierceness against each other; the combat among the professors of Religion being as ruthless as that of which we read in the Feast described or invented by Lucian. I have accordingly put forth this little book, which, as it was without an owner and seemed to need a patron, I dedicate to you. Farewell, and by enjoying the best of fortune, fulfil the meaning of your name.†

Antwerp, 1517.‡

The following letter to More, which in its opening words concludes the story of Erasmus's last visit to England, is without date of day in the printed copies; but the date (30 May) is very probably supplied by the contents of the letter. See p. 560 and note there. This letter contains the first mention of the two portraits in one picture, painted by Quentin Matsys as a present for More. The gallery of the Earl

* 'From off the wagon.' A cart or wagon often supplies an advantageous platform, in modern as in ancient times, for the political or religious orator.

† The surname of this correspondent, is obviously derived, in the form in which it is here given, from the Greek εὐτυχής, fortunate.

‡ Antuuerpiæ. A.N. M.D.XVII

of Radnor at Longford Castle contains a portrait of Peter Gillis, which is believed to be the half of this picture, of which the other part, representing Erasmus, is in the Strogonoff Gallery at St. Petersburg. It will be observed that Tunstall was a collector of coins.

EPISTLE 563. Farrago, p. 189; Epist. vii. 24; C. 287 (291).

Erasmus to Thomas More.

On the first of May, the winds having lulled at first and afterwards become contrary, we were landed at midnight by a ship's boat, not without risk, upon some rocks on the French coast near Boulogne. The wind afterwards was bitter cold, and for the rest of our journey on land, the nearness of the sea-side made us feel it more sensibly. These gales have killed and are killing a great many people here with Cynanche and Pleuritis.

Peter Gillis and I are being painted in one picture, which we intend to send you as a present before long. But it unluckily happened, that on my return I found that Peter had been attacked by a serious illness, from which he has not even now quite recovered. I was myself fairly well, but somehow or other it occurred to my doctor to order me some pills for the purging of bile; and what he was fool enough to prescribe I was idiot enough to take. The portrait was already begun, but when I returned to the painter after taking the physic, he said it was not the same face; so the painting has been put off for some days till I can look more cheerful.

I have sent your Epigrams, and the *Utopia*, together with some of my lucubrations, to Basel by my own servant, whom I have kept here for some months for the purpose.

Tunstall is very well, and indeed triumphant; he has got a great number of old coins here. He has read my *Copia* through, and is wonderfully pleased with it; he also admires

my Panegyric of Prince Philip. He has gone through the whole of Budé's book *de Asse*, and has written to him, but Budé has not yet answered.

The Cardinal of Gurk has been gone several days, somewhat, as I hear, to the displeasure of the Emperor. The Cardinal of Sion went away yesterday.* I dined with him the same day, and had a long discussion with him about the New Testament, and also about the war. He openly inveighs against the French with all the frankness of a Switzer; and he said, the idea of the Germans was, that all kings should be under the Emperor. The Emperor is going to Mayence, where it is said that a council of the princes of Germany is to take place. Our Charles is holding a council at Ghent, to which the Emperor has not come; and they say he is going away without being satisfied after all. Good heavens! was ever a man angry in happier circumstances? Peace was on the point of being concluded even with the Gheldrians, and that on terms most favourable to him; but this he stopped, to prevent a complete cessation of war!

Philip, bishop of Utrecht, has made his entry into his city under the happiest auspices, and with great pomp. The duke of Ghelderland is said to be invading Friesland with an army of eight thousand men.

Tunstall is glad that his part in the puppet-show is ended at last; if he goes back to you, I need not have written. If he stays, I am determined wherever he may be, to spend this season with him. Under other circumstances we were disposed to pass the summer at Louvain, being pressed to do so, even by the theologians. Only N. vents some sort of grumbling in order to maintain his credit for consistency.

* These events serve to supply to the letter a date, which is wanting in the copy that has come down to us. The Cardinal of Gurk left the Court on the 2nd of May to go to the Diet of Worms. The Cardinal of Sion was at Antwerp on the 29th, but appears to have gone on that day to Mechlin. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 3200, 3295, 3301, 3303, 3316.

Do not cheat me of that letter of yours, which you showed me unfinished.* I have lost the letter of Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador; if it is with you, send it back here. If not, ask his courteous secretary, Niccolò, to send me another copy of it, together with that which he wrote to congratulate Marcus Musurus.† I will write more at length within a month's time, when I send the picture.

I hear nothing about the horse, though it would now have been useful. Farewell, with your sweet wife and charming children. Peter Gillis, with his Cornelia, sends his kindest greeting to you and your wife.

[Antwerp, 30 May,] 1517.‡

We see above, that Erasmus was collecting Epistles; but none of the letters here mentioned were included in any collection published in his lifetime. See notes below. It appears from the last clause, that he was expecting a horse from England,—probably as a present from Ursewick, who had given him a horse before. See Epistles 470, 471. 'The picture' which was that of Erasmus and Gillis, painted by Quentin Matsys, has been already mentioned. See pp. 558, 559.

Antonius Clava of Ghent, to whom Gillis, three months before, had dedicated the volume of Epistles of Erasmus which he had edited, writes the following letter to Erasmus in answer to one which has not survived. The letter of Barbier, written apparently about the same time as this, and mentioned in both this and the following Epistle, is also missing. 'Our Cæsar' was probably the writer of Epistle 508. See p. 475. He appears to have been formerly a schoolmaster

* More does not appear to have found this inchoate epistle, of which an unfinished draft had been shown to Erasmus in London. See Epistle 579, p. 585.

† This request, communicated to Giustiniani, is answered by him in Epistle 570. The lost letter was probably Epistle 466. The letter written to congratulate Musurus was Epistle 552. These epistles were not published by Erasmus, but the copies sent to him in reply to this request (see p. 570) remained among his papers now at Deventer, and are printed in the Leyden edition of these Epistles (*Erasmi Opera*, tom. iii.), here cited as C.

‡ No date in *Farrago*. Anno 1517. *Opus. Epist.* Mr. Brewer has abstracted this letter, and places it at the end of June. But see the note in p. 560.

(Epistle 175, vol. i. p. 360), and to have been lately appointed preceptor to Leopold, a younger son of the Emperor. Erasmus is now again the guest of Peter Gillis at Antwerp. King Charles, with his Court, is at Ghent (Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 3337, 3349), and Clava invites Erasmus to come to his house in that city. 'The Epistles,' which Clava had not yet seen, were probably the printed collection, entitled *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes,* inscribed to himself. See p. 516.

Epistle 564. Deventer MS.; C. 1789 (402).

Clava to Erasmus.

Most learned Erasmus, I am both well myself and rejoiced to hear that you are so. Our Cæsar has gone off, twelve days ago, to the other Cæsar with Prince Leopold, Cæsar's son; and we are expecting him soon to return. Peter Barbier is honestly and diligently attending to your interest, and is wonderfully anxious to promote your dignity and advancement. The Great Chancellor, though he is daily distracted with a multitude of troublesome business, is always ready to listen when your name is mentioned (and that is not seldom), and regards you with no ordinary favour, being disposed to gratify you in every way, when some favourable opportunity or a happier fortune shall smile upon us. I only wish Clava's influence were equal to his love, and zeal for your advancement.

I have not seen the Epistles you mention, and am very desirous of seeing them. You will read, in Barbier's letter, what we think will conduce to your interest, and we shall accordingly hope for your speedy arrival here; and at the same time we beg, that you will not turn your steps to any other house but Clava's; you will there find one, who will be very glad to welcome you, and will pay you every attention. Greet your charming host, Peter Gillis, in my name.

Ghent, 4 June [1517].*

* Ex Gandavo 4 Junii. C.

The following familiar note of Guy Morillon is dated the day after the last, and was probably sent with it. Our Divine (Theologus noster), is, I presume, Barbier, whose letter, also mentioned in that of Clava, has not survived. Morillon has married, we may suppose the betrothed 'spouse,' who, with his former letter, had sent her good wishes to Erasmus. See p. 495. The Chancellor Le Sauvage, having a mission to the Court of France (Brewer, *Abstracts*, 3375), was going to Spain by land in anticipation of the King. See pp. 577, 589.

Epistle 565. Deventer MS.; C. 1607 (140).

Guy Morillon to Erasmus.

Paris has obtained his Helen. I have married a wife, my lord, whose portrait I might endeavour to draw, if I did not hope, that you will soon be here, when I shall be able to show her to you in person. You will learn by the letter of our Divine, how the Chancellor looked, when he read your letter, and how favourably he is disposed towards you.

All those who wish you well, are agreed in thinking that you ought to betake yourself hither, before the Chancellor starts on his journey to Spain; I do beg you, my lord, not to prove inexorable to your friends. The other things, in which you may be interested, will be better reserved till we meet.

My wife and I are drinking a bumper to the health of your accomplished host, Peter Gillis. Farewell, my lord.

Ghent, 5 June, 1517.*

We have no letter of Erasmus himself dated during the month of June, 1517; but we see, in Epistles 564 and 565, that his friends at Ghent were pressing him, in his own interest, to come to that city before the departure of the Court, and there is reason to think that he followed their advice. Tunstall was at Ghent from the 9th to the 20th of June, when the Court appears to have removed to Bruges,

* Gandavo 5 Junii, Anno 1517. C.

and Tunstall to have migrated with it, Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 3349, 3378; and we learn from a letter of Erasmus to More, written at Louvain probably early in July, that the writer had stuck to Tunstall as long as he could. The friends probably parted at Bruges. That Erasmus was in that city about the end of the third week of June, appears by an incidental allusion in Epistle 582, p. 589. See pp. 571, 572, 574.

Epistle 566 is a letter of some interest from Andreas Asulanus, who after the death of his son-in-law, Aldus, continued the management of the Aldine Press during the minority of that printer's sons. It will be remembered, that, when he was at Venice nine years before, Erasmus had for several months lived in the house of Messer Andrea da Asola at San Paterniano near the Rialto Bridge. See vol. i. p. 437. We learn from the first paragraph of this epistle, that Erasmus had lately written a letter, which has not survived, to Baptista Egnatius, a scholar who assisted in the publication of the learned works, which passed through this famous press. Marcus Musurus, lately created Archbishop of Monovasia (p. 545), had, it appears, been Public Orator of the city of Venice; and it had occurred to Asulanus, that Erasmus might be elected to fill his place. There is no reason to suppose that Erasmus encouraged this suggestion.

Epistle 566. Deventer MS.; C. 1666 (253).

Andreas Asulanus to Erasmus.

I was marvellously pleased with your letter to Egnatius, finding evidence in it, not only of your own good health, but also of your kind feeling towards me. I was also delighted to find, that you approved of our having published Lucian's Dialogues, translated by you into Latin with no less accuracy than elegance, and also your *Moria*. * *

I have been desirous of communicating with you by letter about a matter, which I hoped would not be disagreeable, as it could not but be creditable to you. You are aware that Marcus Musurus has been elected into the college of

Pontiffs ;* consequently there is a vacancy created, which, as I hear from those who are judges of ability, cannot be filled by any one better than by you. I have therefore written to you, to learn your views on the matter. If you agree to your appointment as Public Orator, either Greek or Latin, we will report the same to the Three Hundred, for it is that body, which has charge of the business.

I am pleased with what you write about the Adages. As Erasmus says in his Proverbs, Africa is always teeming with something new. Pray send to us whatever you have to dispose of ; I will see that it be so published, as to show that I have had regard no less to the credit of our Press, than to the glory of our respected Erasmus. Farewell.

After my letter was written, a thing has come into my mind, which I wanted you to know. You will remember, how much time was spent in the emendation of Terence by my son-in-law Aldus ; and also what labour he expended upon Plautus, in which you were of great assistance to him ;† of these authors I should be glad to publish an edition for the use of students. I implore you therefore to send me any old manuscript you may have, which may serve as a leading text, and anything else which may make our work more complete. We would omit nothing which might conduce to the accuracy or elegance of the work.

My sons,‡ to whom I have delivered your kind message, desire to return your civility. Also Manutius (the first-born), and Antony and Paul, sons of Aldus, send their greeting.

Venice [June] 1517.§

* The word, *pontifex*, in the sense of bishop, is used by Erasmus in a letter, many years earlier, Epistle 135. C. 79 F. See also p. 557.

† See our former volume, p. 445.

‡ Filii Aldi mei. C. I read : filii mei. See p. 567. The word *Aldi* appears to be repeated by mistake from below.

§ Venetiis, Anno 1517. C.

We may conjecture that the above letter was committed, with the letter next described, Epistle 567, to the charge of Ulrich von Hutten.

The following letter of Baptista Egnatius, the corrector of the Aldine Press, was carried across the Alps by Ulrich von Hutten, who paid a short visit to Venice in June, 1517, and was travelling from thence to Germany. It appears to have been sent by him from Bamberg to James Spiegel at Augsburg, to be forwarded by the latter to the Low Countries together with a letter of Hutten himself to Erasmus. Epistle 585. The complimentary letter of Erasmus to Egnatius, which is mentioned in the following Epistle (p. 567), has not been preserved.

Epistle 567. Deventer MS.; C. 1608 (141).

Baptista Egnatius to Erasmus.

Ulrich von Hutten, a person in whose character and learning,—so far as a single meeting supplies the means of forming an opinion,—one may recognize a pupil of Erasmus, has delivered your greeting to me, and has been welcomed on your account; but before long his own merit and sweetness were no less efficacious in his favour than your commendation. Among other things he reported, with great expressions of regard for you, that Erasmus had been invited to become preceptor to Prince Charles upon most honourable terms. How much I was delighted with this news, I cannot easily express. What I thought was,—not that you would be able, in consequence of this appointment, to obtain the greatest wealth and dignity, things which you have always magnanimously disregarded,—but that a Prince of the highest note in the world, might by your instruction be so guided and taught, as to become worthy of succeeding to so great a fortune and to imperial rank; that the might and the counsels of so powerful a realm might be turned from worse than civil wars to a righteous encounter with an

impious foe; while learning and all its followers were encouraged and loved. * * *

To turn now to your letter, delivered to me some time ago, in which you say you have heard, that I have become the successor of Aldus in forwarding the interests of literature, and am so far superior to him that, excellent as he was, he would, if compared with me, be little esteemed,—I cannot accept such praise, or claim to be on an equality with Aldus. I have taken some few things in hand, in the hope of encouraging the efforts of you and others like you, but I have to do with a proprietor,† who, to put the matter in a moderate way, has more regard to private than to public interests, and whose wealth and fortune are more to be admired than his gratitude or kindness to learned men.

* * * * *

As to what you say about sending your writings to us, we shall receive them with much pleasure, and will see that they are printed with the greatest care, since nothing can be more agreeable to me than to labour for the glory of my Erasmus. The Asolani have the same wish; and they send, with their sons, their salutations to you. Meantime you will kindly read my Cæsars,—and the other things which Ulrich will bring you,—with what care you can, and will not fail to make large corrections in them, and to let me know plainly what is your opinion of them. Farewell.

Venice, 21 June, 1517.‡

The Asolani named in the last paragraph (sons of Andrew and brothers-in-law of Aldus) are mentioned by Andrew at the end of Epistle 566. Their sons (a third generation), mentioned above,

† res est cum eo mancipe, *etc.* It seems that Andrea Asolano is meant. The later clause refers to the next two generations. See the comment above.

‡ Venetiis 21 Junii, Anno 1517. C.

had probably been noticed by Erasmus as children. Andrew was now an old man; in Hutten's letter, Epistle 585, he is *senex ille*.

Erasmus was now preparing to transfer his quarters to Louvain, which, with its University, its libraries and literary society, appeared to offer him a suitable residence, and where he continued to reside with some intermissions for nearly four years. We have seen that, in the experimental visit which he had made in the winter to that place (pp. 456, 458), he had had an interview with Paludanus, the Orator of the University, to whom he had expressed some doubt as to the reception he might himself expect, especially from Dorpius, and that Paludanus had encouraged him upon this point. He appears also to have invited him to his own house, where Erasmus was staying soon after his arrival at Louvain. See Epistle 572, p. 576. The President, described in the letter of Dorpius (p. 459), as a cultivated and learned man, who had profited by a long experience of human affairs, was Joannes Atensis, Vice-chancellor of the University of Louvain (see p. 502); his courtesy and learning are commended by Erasmus in an epistle written to Tunstall from Louvain in the autumn of this year. C. 288 (293.)

It appears by Epistle 563 (p. 559), that Erasmus had had on the first day of May a rough and somewhat dangerous passage across the Channel in his return from England. To this disagreeable experience an allusion is made in a letter of Bishop Fisher written shortly afterwards, which was forwarded by More to Erasmus on the 16th of July; see Epistle 579, p. 586. We learn by Fisher's letter, that Erasmus had paid a visit to Rochester before travelling to the coast. The Cabalistical Book, which Reuchlin had sent as a present to the Bishop, is mentioned again in Epistle 586. The opening words of the Bishop's letter make it probable that the writer had seen Epistle 563,—which More had by this time received from Erasmus,—containing a description of the conclusion of his sea-passage. See p. 559.

EPISTLE 568. Deventer MS.; C. 1812 (428).

Bishop Fisher to Erasmus.

As I was sorry to hear of the danger you incurred in your voyage, I am no less rejoiced at your having come out of it safe and sound. But it was only right that you should be punished for running away in such a hurry from me, with whom you might have rested secure from sea and storm.

That Cabalistical Book, which you say was presented to me by Reuchlin, has not yet reached me. Your friend More has sent the letter, but still detains the book in his old way; as he did before with the *Oculare Speculum*. I am very much obliged to you, Erasmus, both for other kind attentions, and especially because you take such pains to keep up Reuchlin's recollection of me. I have the greatest regard for him, and beg you, in the meantime, until I have read the book and can write to him about it, to let him know, that I feel as grateful to him as I can possibly conceive.

The New Testament, translated by you for the common benefit of all, cannot give offence to any wise person; when you have not only cleared up innumerable passages by your erudition, but have also supplied a very complete commentation * of the whole work; so that it may now be read and understood by every one with much more satisfaction and pleasure than it could before. But I very much fear, the printer has been often napping; for in practising the reading of St. Paul according to the rules you laid down, I have myself often found, that Greek expressions,

* integerrimam adhibuisti commensurationem. I have ventured to adopt the suggestion of my friend, Mr. Allen, and read *commentationem*.

and sometimes entire sentences are omitted. I have you to thank, that I am able to some extent to guess where the Greek does not quite correspond with the Latin. I only wish I had been permitted to have you for a few months as a teacher. Farewell and be happy.

Rochester [June 1517].*

We have seen, p. 561, that Erasmus had sent a message through More to Niccolò Sagondino, the Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in London, asking for a copy of Epistle 552, written by Sagondino to Marcus Musurus. EPISTLE 569,—Deventer MS.; C. 1609 (143),—is a letter of Sagondino to Erasmus, dated the 22nd of June, 1517, which accompanied the copy of his epistle to Musurus. In the same letter was also enclosed a copy of a letter written some time before by his chief, Giustiniani, to Erasmus, which the latter had lost, Epistle 466. See p. 561. Sagondino, according to Epistle 569, gives two hours a day to Erasmus's Adages, the reading of which brightens his life in London; and he would think it the greatest of privileges, if he could live with Erasmus and serve him. He begs Erasmus to commend him to the Bishop of Chieti. This Bishop, with whom Erasmus had been associating at Ghent, was John Peter Caraffa (then Papal envoy at the Court of King Charles), who nearly forty years later, still vigorous at the age, it is said, of seventy-eight, became Pope under the name of Paul IV. See p. 116.

EPISTLE 570,—Deventer MS.; C. 1611 (145),—is a fresh letter to Erasmus from Sebastian Giustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador in London, dated the 29th of June, 1517,† and sent to Erasmus with that of Sagondino. The writer refers to the wish expressed by his correspondent (see p. 561) for a copy of his former letter, which he accordingly sends. He mentions the pleasure with which he reads Erasmus's Adages, and the Volume of Epistles which he has lately received (see p. 562); and begs Erasmus to carry his salutation to the Bishop of Chieti, from whom he is expecting a letter in reply to more than one which he had sent to the Bishop.

* Ex Roffa. C.

† Londino 29 Junii, Anno 1517. C.

Towards the end of June, Erasmus, who at this time was keeping close to Tunstall, appears to have been for some days at Bruges, where the latter was now staying; see pp. 564, 574, 589. On or before the 5th of July, the friends parted, as Tunstall appears on that day to have left Bruges to accompany King Charles to Middelburg. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 3378, 3426, 3453. Shortly after this parting, during the first or second week of July, Erasmus removed to Louvain, which became his usual residence for the next three years of his life.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Removal of Erasmus to Louvain, July, 1517. *Letters to More, Brie, Gillis, Tunstall, Barbier, Ruser, and Cæsarius; Letters from the Bishop of Basel, Fabritius Capito, Beatus Rhenanus, More, Budé, Hutten, Colet and others, July, August*, 1517. *Epistles* 571-596.

We have no direct evidence of the date of Erasmus's removal to Louvain, but the time is approximately shown by the contents of Epistles 571 and 572. In the first of these letters, which is without date of day, but appears to have been written not many days after the arrival of Erasmus, he is invited by Dorpius to dinner on the next Sunday, to meet two of the most important persons of the University, Paludanus and Atensis. In Epistle 572, also without date of day, but evidently written some little time later, Erasmus reports to More, that after remaining with Tunstall as long as he could,* he had removed to Louvain, where he was then staying as the guest of Paludanus. With respect to the movements of Tunstall, to which we are thus referred, it appears by the State-papers of which Mr. Brewer has given us abstracts, that Tunstall, having remained for a few days at Ghent, had first removed to Bruges about the 20th of June, and from thence had gone away to Middelburg, probably in company with King Charles on the 5th of July, 1517.† This gives us an approxi-

* See pp. 564, 571. At the end of May, when it was uncertain whether Tunstall would remain abroad or return at once to England, Erasmus had expressed his own intention of spending the summer with him, if he stayed in the Low Countries, wherever he might be. Epistle 563, p. 560.

† Brewer, *Abstracts*, vol. ii. 3349, 3378, 3426, 3453. See pp. 564, 571.

mate date for the removal of Erasmus to Louvain, about the end of the first week of that month. Epistle 571 was evidently written some few days after his arrival; and we may conjecture with confidence, that the day fixed for Dorpius's dinner party was Sunday, the 19th of July, the feast of his patron, St. Martin.

Epistle 571. C. 1661 (248).

Martinus Dorpius to Erasmus.

I have not hitherto been able to call upon you, my Erasmus, as I have often wished to do, or to pay you that attention which you so well deserve. Pray do not attribute this to conceit, or to negligence (to the last, if either), but to the really pressing business with which I have been occupied for several days. In future, I trust, if it be not disagreeable to you, I shall be often running in to see you. My present object is to beg you to dine with me on Sunday to meet Master Paludanus. Atensis will also be of the party, and a few others who appreciate and admire your erudition.

I bought some time ago the works of Jerome, bound, for fifteen Rhenish florins and a half, and am now steadily reading them. Farewell, and love me.

The Theologians' College, Louvain [July] 1517.*

Soon after his arrival at Louvain Erasmus became a guest in the house of Paludanus, the Orator of the University, of which Atensis was the Vice-chancellor; see pp. 502, 568. He had probably by this time received a letter from Tunstall, who was now at Middelburg. It appears from the following letter, that he had no present intention of staying more than a few months at Louvain.

* Ex collegio Theologorum, Lovanio Anno 1517. C.

EPISTLE 572. Deventer MS.; C. 1658 (241).

Erasmus to More.

Receiving no answer from you, I quite understand with what a multitude of affairs you are distracted; and am satisfied with hearing from Tunstall, that you are in comfort, or at any rate in safety.

I have learned at last, who it was among those Court people, that raised such a conflict against me. There is a certain Master* from Paris, formerly a Carmelite, who in hope of an Abbacy was admitted to the Benedictine order,—although of all men most given to evil speaking,†—and soon after became Suffragan, that is, a sort of sham bishop, of Cambrai. This person has been barking loudly against me; and that not at Court only; for there is no convivial meeting, at which he does not declaim against Erasmus,—having a special dislike for the *Moria*,—a pious man forsooth, that cannot bear any attack upon St. Christopher or St. George! And yet this creature has great influence with Chièvres, who directs everything, and perhaps also with the King, whose Confessor he has lately become, in place of Josse Clichtove, who was appointed to that office, and was afterwards rejected, for no better reason than this, that he was very lean, and had not ten hairs on his head! The prejudice against me has been increased by Deloin having made a French translation of the *Moria*, which is now understood even by theologians, that is, if they happen to know French.

I stuck to Tunstall as long as I might; and we finished the collation of the New Testament; when that was done, and I was anxiously thinking in what terms I could fitly

* By Master, we may understand Doctor of Divinity.

† factus Benedictinus, licet omnium homo maledicentissimus. The person here described was Briselot, of whom Erasmus gives a similar description,—with the name,—in a later letter to Beatus Rhenanus. Epistle 600. C. 1624 c.

express my thanks, he chose to add a present of fifty French crowns,* which he would not allow me to decline. As I live, this age has nothing to compare with that man !

Peter Gillis's health is still unsatisfactory. He has frequent relapses, and fears something, which I guess rather than know, and for which I should be very sorry. His wife has had a miscarriage since my return from England, which I attribute to her alarm about her husband's critical state.

I have removed entirely to Louvain, intending to pass some months with the Theologians, who have received me kindly enough. My pension has been partly paid by the Chancellor out of his own pocket, that is, to the extent of two hundred florins, which he is to recover somehow or other ; and I expect a hundred more, but who is to pay this, when all are gone ? The Chancellor, in his farewell words, bade me be of good cheer ; he intended, as I understand, to give me a bishopric ; in his position it is easier to make a man a bishop, than to pay a promised amount of money.

My friend Lefèvre † has not treated me in a very friendly way in his last edition of the Apostolic Epistles. He maintains his own opinion with too much acrimony, carping at some things, which have nothing to do with the question affecting him. I am vexed with the man, and intend to answer him in a Letter which I shall presently publish ; but I shall keep a restraint upon myself, so that the discussion may not have the appearance of a contest. If you have any curiosity about it, read our Notes upon the Second Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and his 'Examinations' upon the same passage ; but you will recognise the second edition of the work by what Lefèvre has written in the opening page.‡

* quinquaginta scutatos Gallicos.

† Faber amicus. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, James Lefèvre of Étaples.

‡ sed secundam editionem illius agnosces ex subscriptione Fabri in prima statim pagina. For the comments of Erasmus, see Erasmi *Opera*, tom. vi. (*Novum Testamentum*) p. 985 C D, 986 C ; tom. ix. (*Apologia ad Fabrum*) p. 17.

I am staying here at Louvain with Paludanus, the Orator of the University, but anything you have sent to Peter Gillis, will be safe. I wrote you word, that your lucubrations have been already sent to Basel ; I mean the *Utopia*, the *Epigrams* and the *Lucian*. I have told them, either not to undertake the business at all, or to take pains to do it well, and have sent them a learned and industrious man, as an assistant for that purpose.

I have not yet decided, what residence to choose. I do not like Spain, to which I am again invited by the Cardinal of Toledo. The German stoves, and their roads infested by robbers, are not to my taste. Here there is snarling in abundance, without any profit ; and if I wished to do so, I could not stay long. In England, I am afraid of disturbances, and have a horror of slavery. If you have yourself any advice ready, please let me have it, for I simply despair of so arranging matters among my own people as to overcome the prejudices of monks and theologians ; and day by day the assassins are forming a party, and only want a leader. It is well for me, that the Suffragan* is going to Spain ; and there he is pretty sure to die, being not under seventy years of age. Nevertheless there are some Friars Preachers and Carmelites, who are beginning to incite the populace to stone-throwing, a plague which is nowhere so prevalent as among our countrymen. But as yet not a word to my face, either at Court, or among the people ! I fancy they are afraid of the lion's teeth ; indeed they should feel some scratches, such as they deserve,—if it were not that this might scarcely consist with Christian moderation ! At any rate, I intend to persevere in that course by which I may advance the cause of enlightenment, so far as I am allowed to do so. Farewell.

Louvain [July] 1517.†

* The Suffragan of Cambrai. See p. 574.

† Lovanio, Anno 1517. C.

It is worth while to notice the perspicacity of Erasmus with respect to the arbitrary character of the English Government, his opinion of which was fully justified by the fate of his correspondent More.

The letter of Germain de Brie* to Erasmus, Epistle 546, which has been shortly described (pp. 540, 541), was dated the 6th of April, and was, we may assume, directed to Antwerp or Brussels, the French correspondents of Erasmus having no suspicion that he was then in England. The letter by which Erasmus answered that of Brie, Epistle 573, was not written until the writer had removed to Louvain, from which city it is dated, but without any mention of day or month. The year-date, 1518, which follows, may be assumed,—as in other instances where a year-date is found in the printed copies without date of day,—to be an addition of the editor; and the allusion (p. 579) to the proclamation of peace between France and the Low Countries furnishes a more trustworthy date. The terms of peace were arranged by the Treaty of Cambrai, 11 March, 1517; and by an instrument dated the 18th of June, the Chancellor Le Sauvage was commissioned to go to Paris to receive the ratification of the French King. See p. 563. Brewer, *Abstracts*, 3008, 3375. Epistle 573 contains a passage relating to More, in which Erasmus does his best to make peace in a private dispute, which had arisen between two of his friends. Germain de Brie, who is described in his book as Archdeacon of Albi† and Secretary to the Queen of the French, had published a poem, entitled *Chordigeræ navis conflagratio*, in celebration of an exploit of a French captain in the naval warfare with England. To this More had replied in his volume of *Epigrammata*, by several satirical poems directed against Brie. Erasmus ingeniously urges, that these epigrams could not be considered as directed against Brie personally, but only against a French author, unknown to More. Brie was not dissuaded from publishing his reply, which appears to have been printed, with the title, *Antimorus*, in 1519.

* I had written Brice for the Latin *Brixius*, in p. 540, and in my former volume, p. 450; but have here substituted Brie on the authority of Rabelais. *Pantagruel*, liv. iv. chap. 21. The name of Brixius, assumed by Brie, appears to be taken from the story of St. Martin.

† Albi, anciently called Albiga (whence the name of the Albigenses) is a French city, in the Department of Tarn, with a fine Cathedral, the seat of an Archbishop. See p. 540.

EPISTLE 573. Farrago, p. 61 ; Ep. iv. 9 ; C. 376 (359).

Erasmus to Germain de Brie.

Your letter, my dear Brie, has given me a complex pleasure. In the first place it has very agreeably revived the memory of that most delightful intercourse which we had together, first at Venice and afterwards at Padua.* In the next place, it assures me, that you are not only in good health, but also advanced in dignity and fortune ; and what more welcome news than this could I receive ? Lastly, the letter itself plainly shows, that you have been running a most successful race with yourself, inasmuch as, while you formerly possessed a most happy vein of poetry, you have now mastered a like facility in prose composition.

As to the praises which you heap on me with both hands, I readily accept them, but only on the assumption, that an affection without limit answers to your unlimited compliments. And yet, to tell you the truth, your praises of that eminent prelate Stephen Poncher, of Francis Deloin, and of William Budé have been read by me with much more pleasure than any praise of myself ; and when you inform me, how much I owe to the good will of the Bishop, and how much to those princes of letters, Deloin and Budé, I am pleased to be reminded of my obligation to them. But the more copious their praises, the more do they make me afraid of going to France ; for how can I venture to go with such a burden upon me, conscious that I should have to respond to such magnificent commendations? France has always had a charm for me ; and it is no secret how Good Letters are disregarded here, where Tyrants with false names and vain words bear sway, and easily impose on

* See vol. i. p. 450.

Paphlagonians and Midases.* But up to now, there are some fetters, with which my own Genius holds me fast. The conditions offered in the King's name, I admit to be most liberal; but I am not so much influenced by his authorization, as by the intimate friendship of such distinguished men, since this is promised by each of you in the name of all. I congratulate you on a fortune so ample, that you think it would suffice for us both, as you invite me to be a partner in it.

Some sort of rumour, I do not know on what authority, has spread among us, that you have taken offence at the Epigrams of Thomas More, and are preparing a bitter pamphlet against him. You will not do this, if you listen to Erasmus; and I would have you abstain, not so much on his account as on your own. If you knew More, you would confess that there is nowhere in the world any one more worthy of your love. "Why then did he strike the blow?" you will say. But after all, what he published was not written against Brie, whom he did not know, but against a French author; and he wrote it in the midst of war. Now that the strictest peace has been proclaimed between the two nations, it is only right, that these offences should be forgotten. It is also expedient in the general interest of Literature, that her votaries should be clansmen together,† when there is such a malicious conspiracy among the Muses' enemies. And finally, I do not want two persons to quarrel, whom I regard with equal affection.

I know you will exclaim, that I am worse than Diomed,‡ in answering so lengthy and so eloquent an epistle in three lines, and those ill-composed. But you will, I am sure, be

* Τυραννευόντων μοναρχῶν τινων ψευδωνύμων καὶ ματαιολόγων, qui facile Paphlagonibus ac Midis imponunt. *Farrago.* I was inclined to read *Medis*, assuming that Medes and Paphlagonians were taken as types of alien nations brought into contact with Greek acuteness; but perhaps the allusion is to the ass's ears.

† Συγκρητίζειν. See *Adagia*, s.v. *Syncretismus.*

‡ Homer's Diomed, a man of action, not of words. Il. iv. 401, 411.

more indulgent to me, if you consider that I am engaged with mighty volumes, and if you reckon how many correspondents I have to answer every day. Farewell.

Louvain [July, 1517].*

Among the epistles sent to Erasmus from Basel, by a messenger whom he had himself despatched to that place, was a kind and hospitable note from the Bishop of Basel, which was published, with the accompanying letter of Paliurus (Epistle 575) in the *Auctarium Epistolarum*, edited by Beatus Rhenanus, in August, 1518.

EPISTLE 574. *Auctarium*, p. 186; Epist. iii. 28; C. 259 (258).

Christopher, Bishop of Basel, to Erasmus.

It can scarcely be believed, how rejoiced we were, when we heard from this messenger of yours, that you were well; for the love we contracted for you last year at Basel made it impossible for us not to be somewhat anxious about your health; and what friend of Letters would not share the same anxiety? What our country really prayed for,—if there was any room for such a prayer without being invidious,—was, that you might return to our Basel skies. If this air has indeed an attraction for you, let us live under the same roof; come back to Basel, and we, and all we have, are yours. You must not suppose, that, because you are out of sight, you are not in our minds. Write to us sometimes about yourself, and farewell.

From our city of Basel, the 13th of July, 1517.†

* Lovanij. Anno M.D.XVIII. *Farrago.*

† Ex civitate nostra Basiliensi decimatertia Iulij Anno Christiani partus M.D.XVII. *Auctarium.*

The Bishop's Secretary, Lucas Paliurus, adds a short complimentary letter in his own name, EPISTLE 575, dated the same day as the last.† *Auctarium*, p. 182; Ep. iii. 23; C. 259 (259).

Fabritius Capito took the same opportunity of writing to Erasmus, in reply to a letter, which has not survived. After some observations on his own mode of life at Basel, where he appears at this time to have undertaken the office of a schoolmaster,—'constantly urging his young pupils to read, to learn by heart, and to imitate the writings of Erasmus,'—he continues as follows.

EPISTLE 576. Deventer MS.; C. 1613 (147).

Wolphangus Fabritius Capito to Erasmus.

* * * * *

I will now answer your note more closely. My trifling studies in the Hebrew language are being copied out by one of my boys, and indeed I have made up my mind to publish them in the holidays after the next, since Froben's press is occupied this summer with *Chrysostom*. * *

Whatever leisure may remain I propose to employ upon the Hebrew books, and what remains of the Chaldeans, with the intention of enjoying them after the fashion of the dog, drinking from the Nile and then running on again.

I have to thank you for your letter; it is elegant in the first place, and to sum up its qualities in one word, it has the genuine Erasmic flavour. You do not praise your Fabritius so much, as urge and stimulate him to frame his studies on the proposed model; for you are wont, my Erasmus, after the fashion of one that would chasten him‡ that he loves, to admonish in a wholesome, and at the same time rather covert, fashion. So now you have painted my likeness, not as I am,

† Basileæ, decimatercia Iulij Anno. M.D.XVII. *Auctarium*.

‡ Celebraturus. I have read, castigaturus. *Epist. ad Hebræos*, xii. 6.

but as you hope that I shall be. Such decrees, kept sacred by me, shall be the model of my future life, if Divine Providence such life shall grant. Farewell, Jewel of Preceptors.

Basel, 15 July, 1517.*

In the following letter Beatus sends a short report to Erasmus of the occupations of the Basel Press, in which he is willing to assist, if he can be useful to Erasmus. We have also a picture of the study of Greek, as a spoken language, by men of the Renaissance.

EPISTLE 577. Deventer MS.; C. 1613 (146).

Beatus Rhenanus to Erasmus.

In the things you have sent, I should be happy to help your people, if I were not ashamed; they will write, what they are going to do, by the corrector of the press, whom they now employ as their secretary. Lachner is gone to the Strasburg fair. Lewis Baer is staying at Tann, and consequently this courier will bring you no letter from him.

We have had lately with us a person named Clemens Palæologus, from Constantinople, a monk of the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai in Syria; he has been collecting money in Germany, by the indulgence of the Pope, for the repair of his monastery, which has of late years been damaged by the Saracens. He knows Greek well, and Bruno and I have been practising our Greek with him. The Bishop has often received us at dinner, and he always thinks and talks of you with the greatest respect. The same feeling appears by the letter which he has now sent.

Froben is printing Chrysostom at two presses, and at two

* Basilea 15. Julii, Anno 1517. C.

others the Ecclesiastical *Elucidatorium* of Clichtoveus Neoportuensis, who has written some *Scholia* on the Hymns, Sequences, Canon of the Mass, Responsaries and Antiphonies.

Give my salutation to John Smith.* Farewell, respected Father and Teacher.

Basel, July, 1517.†

The above epistle is dated in Le Clerc's edition, and, I presume, in the Deventer Manuscript, 8 July, while the Bishop's letter, which is mentioned in it, and those of the Bishop's Secretary and of Fabritius Capito (Epistles 574, 575, 576), have a later date. The order of these letters, which no doubt travelled together to Flanders, is not important, but I have thought it better to place the letter of Beatus, —in which the Bishop's letter is mentioned as already written, and in whose parcel the others were probably included,—last.

When Epistle 578 was written, the *Apologia ad Jacobum Fabrum* was apparently still in hand See p. 575. As printed, it bears date, 5 Augusti, 1517. *Erasmi Opera*, ix. 66.

EPISTLE 578. Farrago 189; Ep. vii. 23; C. 384 (373).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

Dearest Peter Gillis, I have received from the Court up to this time one hundred florins; the remainder is promised shortly.

If you have any safe messenger, or if James is coming hither, send me your Octuple Psalter. No one has it here, and I want it in the Apology I am preparing against Lefèvre. You will give my best compliments to the Doctor;‡ I

* Saluta Ioannem Smith, Britannum. Erasmus's servant. See pp. 85, 92.

† Basilea 8 Julii, Anno 1517. C.

‡ Medico me unice commendabis. Probably Henricus Afinius of Antwerp, who under Erasmus's influence was learning Greek. See Epistle 530, p. 520.

should have sent him his Grammar, but this *Apology* has somewhat interfered with my arrangements. Farewell, my sweetest Peter.

You will give my greetings to your father and wife. We, thank Heaven, are fairly well. Urge Quentin * to finish his work. When it is done, I will fly over, to advise how it can conveniently and safely be sent to England, and at the same time we will settle our account with Quentin.

I have now thrown away eight days upon this dispute with Lefèvre. Farewell again, and take care of your health.

Kindest greetings to Nicolas the schoolmaster. Since he has wished to oblige me, do look to see in what way I can return his civility. I gave your John a commission to buy me a saddle at Brussels, and want to know what has been done.

[Louvain, July, 1517.] †

The following letter is an answer to Epistles 563 and 572. Enclosed with it were Epistles 568, 569 and 570, letters from England, which had been waiting for More's despatch.

Epistle 579. Deventer MS.; C. 1614 (148).

Thomas More to Erasmus.

You have thrown me, my dearest Erasmus, into the greatest anxiety by your last letters,—for I have received two,—by which I gather, that our Peter is not yet well,

* Quentin Matsys. See pp. 558, 559, 561.

† Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo octavo. *Farrago.* (No date of month.) The date of the printed *Apologia*, given above (p. 583), and the reference to Quentin's picture correct this year-date.

and that he is himself afraid of something further; but what that is, you rather guess than know. I only wish, that what you guess, you had also prophesied to me. As it is, I am not in a position even to conjecture; and so anxious a thing is love, that I am driven to fear things, which perhaps may be worse than the reality. I am sorry too, that, as if his own illness was not bad enough, his wife's miscarriage has come as an additional misfortune. How unequal are these vicissitudes of human life! Prosperity creeps on at a slow and leisurely pace; while adversity falls all at once upon us, and one misfortune seldom comes alone. But as all human conditions are subject to change, I hope his trouble may be compensated by some unexpected happiness. That I may see this soon come to pass, is my most earnest prayer.

I am not surprised to hear of that black Carmelite being so opposed to you, unlike you, as he is, both in learning and in character; but that he inveighs against the Praise of Folly is scarcely credible,—a man of folly all compact! †

* * * *

The picture which represents your likeness with that of our Peter, is expected greedily by me. I have no patience with that illness, which delays my satisfaction for so long. ‡

My lord Cardinal, when he was lately with me, mentioned you most lovingly; he seems plainly to intend to confer upon you something worth having.

As for that letter, of which you say you do not want to be defrauded, my William has put it so carefully away, that it cannot be found; but since you wish it, wherever it may be, I will have it sent you, when it is found. §

† See Epistle 572, p. 574.

‡ Possibly the completion of the picture was delayed by the illness of the Painter. Or was it Gillis's illness, or Erasmus's medicine? See pp. 559, 575.

§ This unfinished letter does not appear to have been found. See p. 561.

I am sending a small parcel of letters, from the Venetian ambassador and his Secretary, and also from the Bishop of Rochester.*

London in haste, 16 July, 1517.†

EPISTLE 580. Deventer MS.; C. 1616 (150).

Erasmus to Tunstall.

We have removed to Louvain with all our baggage, though no accommodation quite adapted to our taste or our studies has yet been found.

Lefèvre of Étaples has furnished us with a fresh subject of controversy. He has published a new edition of his Commentaries on St. Paul, correcting several passages in accordance with our criticism, but without any mention of our work, except in one place, that is, in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. There he is not satisfied with maintaining his own construction, but finds fault with ours in a somewhat ill-natured way, while at the same time he carps at some other matters which have nothing to do with his work. In short, in dealing with a friend, indeed a very good friend, as he himself writes, he has not acted in a very friendly way, and has shown himself, not to say more, to be subject to human frailty. We shall answer, but without acrimony; not for the purpose of refuting his opinion, which in our observations we have censured without altogether rejecting it, but to show that we are not quite so stupid as he makes out.

* Mitto ad te fasciculum ab Oratore Veneto *etc.* Epistles 568, 569, 570.

† Londino raptim 16 Julii, Anno 1517. C.

Palgrave has gone back to England.* Lee is eagerly studying Greek.†

I hear that two Cardinals have been 'regraded' (for that is the term used by our Jerome), and he of St. George condemned to perpetual imprisonment; though indeed that mode of punishment gives me some hope of pardon. I trust that it may be of some avail to him in this time of storm, that he has always been a staunch friend of England. Farewell, best of men.

Louvain, 17 July, 1517.‡

Two Cardinals, who were accused of a plot against the Pope, Bandinello Sauli of Genoa, and Alfonso Petrucci of Siena, were degraded on the 22nd of June, 1517. The latter was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, where on the following 6th of July he was put to death. The Cardinals Sauli and St. George appear to have purchased their pardon. Cardinal Hadrian of Corneto made his escape from Rome, and was deprived of his dignity. Panvinio, *Pontifices*, pp. 358, 359; Brewer, *Abstracts*, 3406, 3495, 3587.

A letter of Budé to Erasmus, preserved in the Deventer Manuscript, is dated on the same day as the last Epistle. The writer had become a correspondent of Tunstall.

Epistle 581. Deventer MS.; C. 1615 (149).

Budé to Erasmus.

I sent this morning to Bade's office, to enquire, whether he

* Palgrave is mentioned in Epistle 489, p. 446, as carrying some letters for More to Brussels in December, 1516. In 1513 John Palgrave, M.A. was 'schoolmaster to the Princess Mary,' then styled Princess of Castile, and in November, 1514, and April, 1515, the same princess, then Queen of France, writes to Wolsey to obtain him preferment. Brewer, *Abstracts*, i. 5582, ii. 295.

† Edward Lee (afterwards archbishop of York) was a friend of More, and at this time also a friend of Erasmus, who writes to him from Louvain in this year. C. 1656 (238).

‡ Lovanio 17 Julii, Anno 1517. C.

had returned from your parts, wishing to hear some news of you and of Tunstall, who is now become a friend of mine,—and whether he had received my letter. Bade has written to me, that you had received it, and would forward it to Tunstall; and that a messenger was starting for your country, if I wanted to send anything to you. I felt some annoyance at first, that Erasmus had not even sent any salutation to me by Bade, and made up my mind not to write. At last I began to read the draft of the letter I had written to Tunstall, so that I might call to mind what I wrote about. In reading it I found that I had made a mistake in these words. * * If therefore you see my letter and find the same mistake there written in my own hand, when you have done laughing, please put ablative cases for the genitives.

You must understand, that I have written so long a letter to your friend, that I hoped it might serve for two, as I have made frequent mention in it of Erasmus, and I therefore seem to myself to have written to both. And have you nothing at all for me, that you might send by this messenger?

The latest note I have received from you was delivered by Henry Glarean, a Swiss,† whom I suppose to be a great friend of yours, but whom I have not since seen. In the beginning of that little letter you write, 'I think you have seen our Notes on the New Testament, in which I make mention of our Budé, etc. I beg your assistance in the common interest.' What these words mean, I do not know. My letter is printed, in which I return you thanks for the honour paid to me in your great Work. Write, what assistance you want me to give, so that I may do what you wish; although I am going soon to the country, and shall not for at least two months be free from those worries which are so abhorrent to literature. They are a torture to me, thinking,

† See Epistle 592, p. 602.

as I do, all my time lost, which is not given either to Divine worship or to the service of the Muses. Farewell.

I have written in a hurry, having been summoned over and over again to dinner, which is already on the table.

Paris, 17 July, 1517.*

The following letter to Barbier, the Chancellor's Secretary, was received by him during his journey with his chief, the Chancellor Le Sauvage, across France to Spain; to which country, having a mission in Paris, they were travelling by land in anticipation of King Charles, who was waiting to embark from Middelburg. See pp. 563, 577, and Epistle 594. In the first paragraph Erasmus refers to his own visit to Bruges. See p. 571.

Epistle 582. Deventer MSS.; C. 1616 (151).

Erasmus to Peter Barbier.

We have heard of your triumphs from afar, and as it were through a cloud. We seem to ourselves to be all forlorn, now that we have lost our one Mæcenas, and you his deputy; who, if your fortune matched your inclination, would be the best patron of all! It is nearly a month now, since your brother Nicolas met me at Bruges, and showed me your letter, in which you ordered him to pay me the hundred francs then remaining due, out of the money he was to receive from the Spaniard, as soon as it came to hand. You informed me at the same time, that the Courtrai pension money was already brought into account.† I have not heard since, what has been done.

We have removed to Louvain with bag and baggage,

* Parisiis 17 Julii, Anno 1517. C.

† pecuniam pensionis Curtracensis jam esse numeratam. See pp. 304, 309, 597.

and have been received with the utmost civility by the Theologians; but we are not yet settled.

I hear that Dr. Adrian has been nominated Cardinal.* Some theological star is now, I think, in the ascendant; our Doctors being everywhere dominant. Standish in England has more influence with the King than anyone else; † and Adrian takes the lead in Spain. The Pope is a wise man now, when none but Saints and heavenly men and learned Doctors are admitted to the Sacred College!

The Chancellor is my mainstay, and if he fails me,—which may the Gods avert,—it is all over with Erasmus; but I could more easily bear my failure, if it were not accompanied with ridicule. When the occasion arises, you will put him in mind of me. Farewell, dearest Barbier.

Lefèvre of Étaples, commenting on the second chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, enters into controversy with me, not without some note of anger; at which I am surprised, inasmuch as I have always restrained any such feeling myself, even when the occasion was not wanting. I do not intend to pay him back in the same coin, but I shall show, that I am not so stupid as he makes out.

Farewell again, my soul's better part.

Louvain, 17 July, 1517.‡

* Adrian of Utrecht, appointed Cardinal by Pope Leo X. 1 July, 1517; elected Pope (Hadrian VI.) 9 Jan. 1522.

† Dr. Henry Standish, 'Warden of the Friars Mendicant in London,' appears to have argued in Convocation, in favour of the Crown, upon a question relating to the privileges of the Clergy in December, 1515. In April, 1518, he was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph, by the special favour of the King; see a letter of Pace to Wolsey. Brewer, *Abstracts*, 4074. In the present letter, C. 1616 F, the words, præter alios, at this point, are followed by the words, suffraganeus quondam Cameracensis. In Epistle 600 (23 Aug. 1517) Briselot is said to have been at some time Suffragan of Cambrai. C. 1624 C. The young Cardinal, William de Croy, nephew of the minister Chièvres, appears to have been Bishop of Cambrai. Brewer, ii. 3095, 3200.

‡ Lovanio 16 Kal. Aug. Anno 1517. *Deventer MS.* 18 Julii. C.

Joannes Juliacensis, John of Jülich,—called elsewhere Joannes Cæsarius,*—writes to Erasmus from Cologne, on the 21st of July, 1517, EPISTLE 583, Deventer MS.; C. 1617 (152). He has seen the Preface to Gaza's Grammar, and been delighted with it. His correspondent's New Testament has converted some of those who were least his friends, and who now regret their own deficiency in the learned languages. The writer frequently speaks of Erasmus in conversation with his lord, the Count of Neuenaar, who would be glad to assist in the encouragement of Good Letters. He has delivered Erasmus's salutations to his (Erasmus's) countryman, Master George,† to James 'a studious youth,' and to the writer's friend Tilmann. The Count of Neuenaar appears to have resided at Cologne; the castle of Neuenaar, which was situated near that city, had probably been long in ruins.

Matthias Schürer, the printer, writes to Erasmus from Strasburg, 21 July, 1517,‡—EPISTLE 584, Deventer MS.; C. 1619 (154),—acknowledging a laconic letter, by which he is delighted to hear that his correspondent is well; forwards letters from Wimpfling, Gerbel, and Ruser, and another sent by some Lawyer from Italy. Sturm, the Master of Requests to Henry, Count Palatine,§ has gone to Aix-la-Chapelle, to attend to some business of his lord there. He is the chief officer of that Prince's house,‖ and is expected back about the middle of September. There are great disturbances in the writer's country; wars are expected; the markets have risen, misery is general, and peace above all things desired. He is anxious to retain the favour of his correspondent, to whom he intended to have sent with this messenger a work of Rodolphus Agricola, but has mislaid a part of it in changing his residence; he still hopes to find and send it. It requires correction, but if Erasmus will take it in hand, it may be set

* See Epistles 358, 415, 589, 596. As the name of Julius is associated with Cæsar, the description, Juliacensis, derived from the city of Juliacum or Jülich, may have suggested the name of Cæsarius.

† By *Master* we may understand *Doctor*. Master George appears, by Epistle 589, to have been the bearer of Epistle 583. As to the absence of surname, see an observation in p. 599.

‡ Raptim Argentorato 21 Julii, Anno 1517, C.

§ Sturmius, a libellis Henrici Palatini Comitis Aquisgranam . . . petiit.

‖ Est enim illius ædis primas, quem vulgo præpositum appellamus.

completely right. In conclusion the writer begs his correspondent to 'remember' him with some little work, which may be published by his press; he need not be uneasy about the corrector, as he has one who is familiar with Greek.

Ulrich von Hutten had written to Erasmus nearly two years before, on his way to Italy. Epistle 351. He has now returned to his native land, and sends from Bamberg a sketch of his Italian Tour, including his reception at Venice, also described by Baptista Egnatius in Epistle 567, which was carried by Hutten to Germany. See p. 566.

Epistle 585. Deventer M.S.; C. 1617 (153).

Hutten to Erasmus.

If I wanted to weave you a history of all that has happened to me since I have been away, most learned Erasmus, no one day would be long enough for the purpose; such a variety of adventures have I had. But the heads of my narrative may stand thus.

When I arrived at Rome, I delivered your greeting to Paul, who, whenever he afterwards met me, recognised me in a friendly way; but this did not happen often, as he was much occupied with his Cardinal.* I showed to all the learned in Rome the book of *Adages*, as reprinted, with additions, in Germany; also the *Moria*, and whatever else I had taken there out of regard for you; and this led to my making friends with many worthy people. But when I had begun to be known, a turbulent storm arose, which drove me from the City to Bologna; five Frenchmen,—terrible fellows for their bodily strength and ferocity,—having set upon me and almost deprived you of your Hutten. But with the divine help, I succeeded in defending myself, and

* Paulus Bombasius, with whom Erasmus had been intimate at Bologna in 1507, was secretary to Cardinal Pucci at Rome. See vol. i. pp. 427, 428.

ıt my assailants to flight, having killed one of them, and ceived myself a wound on the left cheek, which you might ll slight, considering the risk I had run. The persecution the French on that account was more than I could bear ; ıd tearing myself away, I was hurled from Scylla into harybdis ; for some disturbance having arisen at Bologna etween the Germans and Lombards, I was almost slain. I ıd then to plead the cause of the Germans before the refect of the City, a Genoese ; and although my speech,—nsidering the wrong we had suffered and the judge's unfair-ess,—was not bitter enough, I deeply offended the man.

I went off in consequence to Ferrara, where having oken of you, I received visits from several most learned en,—Nicolas Leonicenus, Cælius,* and a Secretary of the rince, who was with you once in a voyage you made from ngland. You have no idea how they value you, and how nd they were to me, because I called you preceptor. eside these, there was Antimachus, the Greek professor, ho never names you without some complimentary preface. stayed at Ferrara only a few days, being called to Venice the two Huttens, who were going off to Syria.

The first person to receive Hutten there as a guest was aptista Egnatius, who gave him, as a hospitable present, a orace most elegantly printed in the minutest type. I as very soon met by Aloisio Bragadino and Hermolao arbaro, the grandson of the great man of that name, and ngelo Contarini, young men of patrician families. They l embraced and kissed me ; and after they had conducted e in their midst round the city, and shown me to their llow citizens, brought me at last,—like some Ulysses the house of Alcinous,—to the office of Asolano, where at old man came out to meet me, and received me, rst most kindly by himself, and then called out John

* For some mention of Cælius, see p. 548.

Francis one of his sons, and afterwards the rest of his household; among whom there was a youth, learned both in Greek and Latin, who is employed by Egnatius to superintend the transcription of books. These all greeted me, one after the other. The Aldine child was also called out, and bid to welcome Hutten with a kiss. Some presents were then offered me,—Suetonius and the later authors who wrote the lives of the Cæsars, Cicero *De Officiis*, and the Cæsars lately edited by Egnatius, and I was asked whether there was anything else I should like. I call all the gods to witness, that I have not experienced greater kindness, if I go through the whole round of my travels.

From Venice I returned to our Germans; and visiting Augsburg I fell in with Peutinger, James Spiegel, and Stabius the mathematician,* and being carried by them to the Emperor, was presented with the Garland of Poetry in a great concourse of the Nobility.

I have given you my chronicle, and may now turn to something else. I have seen the New Testament, as restored by you to its proper splendour; and I have read that honourable mention of myself. What has led you, I ask, to rate me so highly, or what was there in me at all to make me worthy of your praise? 'It had almost escaped my memory,' you say. Truly if I had escaped your memory, I should have escaped at the same time all the knowledge of posterity. May the Gods preserve you to us, the chief Light of Germany! Bear this in mind, that you may not choose to dwell in any other land. Blind as our sovereigns are, they will not fail to see *you*, so brilliant, so illustrious.

* Of the three persons above named, Conrad Peutinger, a learned archæologist, was Town-clerk (Stadtschreiber) at Augsburg; James Spiegel, Imperial Secretary under Kaiser Max, was author of a *Lexicon Juris Civilis*, which lived through eleven editions; Stabius, a mathematician and astronomer, befriended by Kaiser Max, and Professor at Ingolstadt, published a *Welt-karte* in conjunction with Albert Dürer. *Algemeine Deutsche Biographie.*

As for myself, I am not sure what will become of me. The three men whom I have mentioned,* invite me to Cæsar's court, while many dissuade me; some call me to Mayence. What I shall do, I have not yet determined. It is my dearest wish, that you may long survive for the common glory of Germany; and there is no condition which I shall prefer, if I am permitted to be always with you, in order that I may cultivate that talent, which appears to please you. If you have any advice to give, pray unfold it.

I am sending this letter to Augsburg to James Spiegel, who says that he has many persons travelling to where you are. By the same means you will write back to me. Baptist also wrote you a letter, which goes with this.† You will see what he means in reply to your letter, although he spoke in a more magnificent style.

Farewell and thoroughly well, and do not cease to love your Hutten, and disappoint the Obscure Men, who now,—in order that we may be excommunicated,—are carrying about an enormous Bull, well called a *Bulla* or bubble, for what is more tumid, or what more weak? Farewell again.

Capnio's suit is still before the Court.

Bamberg, in haste, the 21st of July, 1517.‡

The book entitled *Epistles of Obscure Men*, attributed to Hutten, has been mentioned, p. 555.§ The above sentence appears to allude to some ecclesiastical censure of this book, procured or solicited.

A characteristic letter of Colet, which has no date of day, belongs to this period. Reuchlin's *Cabalistica*, sent by Erasmus to the Bishop of Rochester, attracted the curiosity of more than one of the Bishop's friends, before it reached the Bishop. See p. 569.

* See the clause before the last, and the note there.

† Baptista Egnatius. See pp. 566, 592.

‡ Bamberga raptim 21 Julii, Anno 1517. C.

§ Its first publication appears to have been in 1515, not 1516, as there stated.

Epistle 586. Deventer MS.; C. 1660 (246).

Colet to Erasmus.

I am out of humour with you, Erasmus, because you greet me in letters addressed to other people, and not to myself, —not that I distrust your friendship, but a salutation at second hand makes people think that I have less of your affection. I am rather vexed with you too for another reason, because you sent the *Cabalistica* of Reuchlin* to the Bishop of Rochester instead of sending it to me; not that I objected to your sending to him, but that I should have liked some book to be sent to me at the same time; for I take such delight in your love, that I grieve to see you less regardful of me than of others!

That book however did in fact come first to my hands, and I ran through it, before it was delivered to the Bishop. I do not venture to give any judgment about it; and I acknowledge my own ignorance, having no insight in matters so remote, or in the resources of so great a man.† And yet, as I read it, I did sometimes think, that the wonders were rather verbal than real; for he gives us to understand, that there is some mystery in the characters and combinations used to express Hebrew words!

Ah, Erasmus, of books and of knowledge there is no end; but there is nothing better for this short term of ours, than that we should live a pure and holy life, and daily do our best to be cleansed and enlightened, and so to realize that which is promised by those Pythagorean and Cabalistical ideas of Reuchlin, but will in my judgment never be

* Joannis Reuchlin de Arte Cabalistica libri tres. Apud Thomam Anshelmum, Hagenau, 1517. See Epistle 568, p. 569.

† in opibus tanti viri.

attained, but by the ardent love and imitation of Jesus. Wherefore it is my most earnest wish, that leaving all indirect courses, we may proceed by a short method to the Truth.* Farewell.

London, 1517.†

EPISTLE 587,—Deventer MS.; C. 1619 (155),—is a short note dated from Middelburg on the 24th of July, 1517,‡ and addressed by Nicolas Barbier (brother of Peter Barbier, the Secretary of the Chancellor Le Sauvage) to Erasmus, from whom the writer had that day received a letter. He had also heard, some days before, from his brother, that he was going to send to Erasmus, by the lord de Marques, a hundred 'common florins' for the Courtrai pension as well as the royal pension.§ He had now met Marques, who said that he had sent the money by the Receiver of Louvain.‖ Marques, a Councillor of King Charles, is mentioned again in a letter of Peter Barbier, written a few days later in the course of his journey to Spain. Epistle 594, p. 607

The following letter is subscribed, Henricus Stromer Aurbachius, medicinæ doctor. Its writer, Henry Stromer of Auerbach, or more shortly, Henry Auerbach, Dean of the Medical Faculty at the University of Leipzig and Rector of that University, was physician to the Archbishop of Mayence. 'Auerbachs Hof' is a great building still standing at Leipzig; its cellar the locality of the Keller-scene in Goethe's Faust.¶ Albert of Brandenburg, who was younger son of John, elector of Brandenburg, by Margaret, daughter of William III., duke of Saxony, had been nominated, 9 March, 1514, being then in his twenty-fourth year, Archbishop of Mayence. I understand Eutychius's letter (literæ Eutychii), mentioned in this epistle, to be a letter of Erasmus addressed to Eutychius,—probably Epistle 562.

* ad brevitatem (*read* Veritatem) brevi compendio eamus. The writer had probably in his mind the words attributed to Jesus in the Gospel: Ego sum Via et Veritas et Vita. Joh. xiv. 6.

† Ex Londino, Anno 1517. C. ‡ Ex Middelburgo 24 Julii, Anno 1517.

§ See pp. 304, 309, 589. ‖ per Receptorem Lovaniensem.

¶ See Brockhaus, Konversations-Lexicon, *s.v.* Auerbachs Keller.

We may conjecture that Eutychius was one of the Archbishop's household. The following epistle is somewhat abridged in translation. The last clause shows, that Erasmus's correspondents were learning to anticipate the possible publication of their letters.

Epistle 588. Deventer MS.; C. 1620 (156).

Henry Stromer to Erasmus.

Most eloquent and learned Sir, in sending this rude letter to you, I adopt the fashion of those legacy-hunters, who send pretty presents to their rich and elderly friends in the hope of receiving handsome legacies. Eutychius's letter has come in his absence to my hands, and has been opened and read by my most gracious lord, the Archbishop of Mayence. This prince was grieved to hear, that my letter written to you about the first of January, had not been delivered to you. His Highness not only wishes but begs, as I wrote to you before, that you will some time come to see him. He desires your friendship, and would willingly confer on you such favours as your industry and wisdom deserve. He wishes, if your leisure should at any time permit it, that you would undertake to compose the history of the principal Saints; whose biographies have been hitherto so ignorantly and barbarously written, that, even where they contain some elements of truth, they have the appearance of the merest lies. He judges that no one could do this better than you, who with your learning have traversed the whole ocean of Sacred Scripture and of History.

I wish your Excellency unbroken health of mind and body, and beg that, when you count the number of your attached friends, you will not omit the name of Stromer. Farewell.

This letter must go without revision, and may well be given over to Vulcan. A host of sick people, suffering

with dysentery and other acute ailments, prevent my copying it out, as the boy, who is its bearer, can testify.

Mayence, in haste, 24 July, 1517.*

Epistle 589 is a letter from John of Jülich, here named Cæsarius (see pp. 291, 591), forwarding a report of the proceedings at Rome relating to the publications of Reuchlin. The writer mentions his previous letter, which bears date nine days earlier, Epistle 583, and has been already described. Its bearer, Master George, to whom no surname is assigned, may probably, as a 'countryman of Erasmus,' have been called Goudanus, or, if his birthplace is meant, Roterodamensis; for either of which names the writer, addressing Erasmus, might naturally substitute the words, conterraneus tuus. The title of Master, implies that George was a Doctor, probably of Theology.

Epistle 589. C. 1620 (157).

Joannes Cæsarius to Erasmus.

Master George, your countryman, and an excellent fellow too, is coming to see you soon. He has now gone to Friesland, and from thence is going to Brabant and Holland; and I have given him a letter for you, somewhat fuller than this.

Martin of Groningen (or is he from Bremen?) has come back to us lately from the City.† It is he, that took so much interest in Reuchlin's affair, and was a great deal with Dr. John van der Wick. The same Martin has, by the Pope's order, translated the *Oculare Speculum* from the vulgar tongue into Latin. I asked him, how Reuchlin's affair was proceeding; he said, very well, and that his friends had reason to be glad, and his foes to be sorry.

* Datum obiter Maguntiæ 24. Julii, Anno post natalem Christi 1517. C.

† his diebus ad nos ex urbe rediit. We may understand, from Rome.

And this account seems to be not far wrong, seeing that Hochstraten and his people, who have lately come back, have either lost all their good spirits, or else they hide them exceedingly well, which I think is scarcely credible.

I hope and trust, that you are well.

Cologne, 30 July, 1517.*

Adrian Baarland, the writer of the following letter, who was probably a private teacher in the University of Louvain, was a professed admirer of Erasmus, and had already written a long account of his works in the form of an Epistle addressed to the compiler's brother, which has been already mentioned (p. 412), and is entered in our Register as Epistle 468. When Erasmus had arrived at Louvain, Baarland had sought his acquaintance; and,—probably on some Sunday or Feast-day, the date of which is not mentioned,—had joined him on his way to St. Peter's Church, which is still one of the glories of the town.

Epistle 590. Deventer MS.; C. 1585 (100).

Adrian Baarland to Erasmus.

Most learned Doctor Erasmus, when I had accompanied you yesterday to St. Peter's Church, and was hoping afterwards to have some further conversation with you, you contrived somehow to escape me. I will therefore do that now by letter, which I intended to do in person.

I have lately written, by way of practising my pen, two epistles of some length. One,—addressed to a brother of mine, who is devoted to Literature,—is upon the subject of your lucubrations, in which he, with me, has always found a surpassing charm. The other letter is addressed to my countryman Borssele, a person who has the highest regard for your name; and it contains an acknowledgment of my

* Colonia 30. Julii, Anno 1517. C.

own obligations to Jerome Busleiden. These two epistles are, I am well aware, unworthy to be read by the Phœnix of the Learned; nevertheless I am now sending them to you, that you may at last be made acquainted with the zealous attachment, with which I have long regarded you and your incomparable erudition. I have, myself, no pretensions to learning, but I love and admire the Learned, among whom you hold the foremost place. My letters await your judgment; if bad, they shall be delivered to the flames; if good or tolerable, they shall be returned to the desk, out of which they come to you; the Press, the light of day, the face of mankind, are still too formidable for them.

Farewell, glory of Germany, and love us, if we deserve your love.

Louvain [August, 1517].*

In the form of an Epistle dated at Louvain, 5 August, 1517, and addressed to James Lefèvre of Étaples,—EPISTLE 591, *Erasmi Opera*, tom. ix. p. 18,—Erasmus wrote an *Apologia* on the subject of the interpretation of the verse in the eighth Psalm containing the words, Minuisti eum paulo minus ab Angelis,—Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels,—which in the Epistle to the Hebrews is applied to Christ. Of this Apology the author himself gives the following summary. He had borrowed the observation from St. Jerome, that in the Hebrew the expression was not 'lower than the Angels,' but 'lower than God'; and that it was the Septuagint, that had read 'than the Angels';† while in both readings there was still the difficulty (the passage being applied to Christ), that, in assuming the form of Man, he did not appear to be a *little* lower than God, or even than the Angels, considering the immense difference between a mortal and an immortal being, when Jesus was placed below the lowest of men (the dignity of Christ always reserved), having suffered more than any of mankind. This difficulty was re-

* Louanio. Anno 1516. C.

† Psalm viii. 4, 5; Hebrews, i. 3, 4. Both our English versions of the Psalms have: lower than the Angels.

moved, if the words βραχύ τι (a little) were referred to the *time* passed by Christ on the Earth until his Resurrection, as this passage was interpreted by all the Greek Theologians. Lefèvre had contended, that the only possible reading was *Deo* for *Angelis*; and that it was a false and impious saying, unworthy of Christ and of God, if any one asserted that God was lessened by the Angels, or below Men;† which nevertheless was the reading both of the Latin and the Greek Church, and followed by all the Doctors of both Tongues; save only that Jerome had observed, that the Hebrew doctors read 'than God,' though he did not find fault with the other reading.

Epistle 592 is addressed to Erasmus by Henry of Glaris, who had gone to Paris in or about May, 1517, with introductions from Erasmus to the Bishop of Paris and others.‡ In the latter part of this letter he gives an account of his reception by some of them, and of a disputation at the Sorbonne. He is somewhat mysterious about his own source of income; but he appears to have been engaged as a teacher. See pp. 482, 548.

Epistle 592. Deventer MS.; C. 1620 (158).

Glarean to Erasmus.

* * *

I have been kindly received by Budé,§ and most courteously treated by Cop. Lefèvre of Etaples has become intimately known to me, and I have found him just as he was always described by you and by our friend Beatus, a person most honest and most obliging. For a certain reason I have not yet called upon the Bishop. I receive a stipend from a private source without being under an obligation to anyone. But whereas I came to Paris to practise my Greek, I have in this respect been grievously

† Deum ab Angelis diminutum, aut infra homines. C.

‡ Epistles 453, 510, 554, 581, pp. 386, 480, 548, 587.

§ See p. 588.

disappointed. There is no professor reading any of the great Greek authors either in public or in private, as far as I know. The Sophists are shouting around us in crowds ; and I was lately at a disputation in the Sorbonne, where I heard loud applause, as if it had been in Pompey's Theatre. I could scarcely restrain my laughter, and yet there was no one laughing there, but a prodigious fight about goats' wool.* They were very angry with Adam, because he had eaten an apple, when he might as well have eaten a pear ; and the supercilious disputants could scarcely restrain their invective ; but in the end, Theological gravity overcame their ill temper ; our first parent had the good fortune to escape without a wound ; and I came away myself, after I had heard nonsense enough. I now remain at home, and enjoy my leisure, amusing myself with my Horace, or laughing with Democritus at a foolish world.

Farewell, and may the Almighty grant, that I may sometime live again with you. My Peter† sends his greeting, and so do my pupils, who are all devoted to you. I do beg you to write some answer to your Glarean, for nothing in this life can come to me more welcome than a letter from you.

Paris, Rue S. Jacques, 5 August, 1517.‡

Richard Pace, who was at this time resident in Switzerland as agent of the English Government, addressed from the city of Constance a long letter to Erasmus, which is printed by Dr. Jortin, in the Appendix to his Life of Erasmus, from a copy, made by him, of 'the manuscript in the *Museum Britannicum*.' The latter part of the letter is mainly occupied with observations upon Erasmus's New Testament. I have translated some of the earlier part, which has a more personal character. The original letter is bound up with other papers in a volume which forms part of the Harleian collection.

* Pugna magna de lana caprina.

† Petrus meus Scudus.

‡ Parisiis, e vico divi Jacobi, 5. Augusti, An. 1517. C.

EPISTLE 593. MS. Harl. num. 6989 (18); Jortin, Erasmus, vol. ii. 347.

Richard Pace to Erasmus.

It is some time now, sweetest Erasmus, since I received that volume of your Epistles together with those of Budé, Ammonius, More and other learned men, which has been printed at Louvain.* Among them I found one of yours to Bullock, in which you mention the letters of two Cardinals, Grimani and St. George, which you say you never received, and seem to throw the blame of this upon me.† Unless I am much mistaken, I shall have no difficulty in clearing myself, even in your judgment, of this imputation; as I shall plainly show, that, with respect to the delivery of those letters to you, nothing took place on my part, which was inconsistent with that friendship for you, which I religiously observe, and always intend so to do. I admit that they were sent to me by our friend Ammonius, and were delivered to me, when I was in the Swiss camp near Milan. But they were brought to me at a time, when it was impossible for me to send any courier,—I do not say to you, but even to my own King, who was insisting on my doing so; all the roads in the direction of Germany being occupied by the enemy, and this being purposely done in order that my letters, with any money which might be sent for soldiers' pay, might be intercepted. I was consequently obliged to keep your letters by me for several days, that they might not be lost by manifest carelessness of mine. As soon as the enemy's outposts, whether compelled by force or by their own necessities, quitted the positions they

* *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum* etc. Lovanii, 1516.

† See Epistle 441, pp. 330, 331.

had occupied, I delivered those letters to be carried to you by an honest person (as it seemed), who was going straight to Basel, and to whom, as I heard with pleasure, you were very well known by reputation. A month after this I arrived at Trent, where I heard that you had left Basel. This you had probably done before the arrival of the person to whom your letters were entrusted ; and in this way I suppose it happened, that those letters were lost, and perhaps the messenger with them ; for, not to speak of the risk of enemies, the whole country was full of robbers.

I have over and over again been on the point of writing to you about this matter, but from that time to this I could never learn where you were, until the 15th day of this month, when I received a letter from our friend More,—better known now as a denizen of Utopia than of England, —by which I understood that you were not only safe, but honourably placed at the Court of your illustrious sovereign, the King Catholic, having, as I hear, been presented to an ample benefice, and appointed a member of the Royal Council. Much as I rejoice at this success, I am still sorry that you have left our England, and could not upon any conditions be kept there, although More has written to me, that magnificent terms were offered you by the most Reverend Cardinal of York. But wherever you may be, I pray that your fortune may be happy and prosperous.

Since you wrote to me from Basel, I have been leading a hateful life, out of sympathy with my nature. In the first place, I have been involved in war,—a thing that has nothing in common with the Muses,—in a war, too, in which there has been more vigour shown in spoliation than in fighting ; and in part, I have been implicated in the negotiations of Sovereigns, in which the utmost pains have been taken that no good result should follow. For what has been the end of all these proceedings you have, I am sure, been informed by common rumour, or have at any rate clearly understood

by what occurs in our More's Utopian Republic, where he refers, *more suo*, to fugitive Naples.† * * *

From Constance, 5 August [1517].‡

I have not been able, owing to stress of business, to write to you at present in my own hand. You must therefore forgive the dictation, and the bad handwriting, of a letter not only written in a bad hand, but . . . .

The date and incomplete postcript above translated are in Pace's own hand; and on looking at the original, I find,—what Jortin omitted to point out,—that the interrupted conclusion does not arise from the writer having left his letter unfinished, but simply from the loss of a part of the document, the interruption occurring at the bottom of the first sheet of paper on which the letter was written, and the second sheet, which may perhaps have had only a few words upon it, not having been preserved. It may be noted that the same volume contains several other manuscripts which have belonged to Pace.

The Chancellor's Secretary, Peter Barbier, who was travelling with his patron to Spain by land, having been at Paris on his way (see pp. 563, 577), writes to Erasmus from a place between Poitiers and Bordeaux; giving him some sensible advice as to his controversy with Lefèvre.

Epistle 594. Deventer MS.; C. 1621 (159).

Peter Barbier to Erasmus.

Most learned Doctor Erasmus, I have within these last few days received from Louvain your letter of the 17th of July.§ You make fine game of our miseries by turning them into triumphs; this in consideration of your character I

† The Utopia, in the first book, contains an allusion to the designs of Louis XII. upon 'fugitiva illa Neapolis.'

‡ Ex Constantia ix Idus Aug.

§ literas tuas de 16 Cal. Augusti. Epistle 582; see p. 589.

pardon ; but I do not so readily excuse the person, by whose fault it has happened, that you have not yet received your money. While I was still at Lille,* I counted a hundred florins, which I delivered into the hands of my lord, the Lord de Marques,† one of the King's Councillors. That you have received only a hundred florins for the Courtrai pension as well as the other stipend, has been the fault of the Spaniard, who with Punic faith after the fashion of his race, when he had promised a hundred and fifty ducats, counted down scarcely a hundred and twenty, out of which I at once repaid to my lord the hundred, which he had ordered to be paid you at Ghent from his own purse.‡ I still beg you to wait patiently till we come to Spain, when I will on some convenient occasion recall my lord's attention to your business.

I wonder that Lefèvre should have written anything against you in an angry spirit ; I met him and Clichtove at Paris, with the latter of whom, as you had desired, I renewed your treaty of friendship. They were united in praise of you and of your writings, as highly conducive, and indeed necessary, to Christian study. I do beg you therefore not to write anything too bitter against Lefèvre, because there are people, who, though they may not comprehend a word of your valuable labours, will nevertheless understand, that two such luminaries have quarrelled, and will conclude, that what you have both written for the honour of God and the instruction of students, has been done for vainglory, and will spread the tale abroad in the heedless way which characterizes such persons.

My lord has bid me greet you in his name ; and he added, 'When I am in Spain, and hear of anything being vacant, I will take care that he gets something better than he has hitherto had.' And at the same time with respect to the

* Adhuc apud Insulas existens.

† exhibendo illos ad manus domini domini de Marques. See p. 597.

‡ See pp. 575, 583.

payment of the stipend in full, he bade me remind him of it in Spain. I beg you to convey my greetings to my lord, Master d'Aeth.

Sensebardeau, half way between Poitiers and Bordeaux, 12 Aug. 1517.*

Epistle 595 is a friendly letter of Erasmus to John Ruser of Nogent,† a scholar, who, being engaged in the printing office of Matthias Schürer of Strasburg, appears to have written to Erasmus to solicit occupation for that press; see p. 591. This epistle was selected for publication in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, 1519, probably for the purpose of illustrating, in Erasmus's own words, his relations with the booksellers. The date of place appears to have been carelessly added. An epistle to the same correspondent, forming a sort of postcript to this, is dated at Louvain, 24 Aug. 1517. Epistle 608, C. 1625 (167).

EPISTLE 595. Farrago, p. 157; Ep. vi. 24; C. 1659 (242).

Erasmus to John Ruser.†

In taking such pains to commend Matthias Schürer to me, you are, in the language of the proverb, painting the lily; inasmuch as that worthy person is already so commended to me by the qualities of his mind, as well as the services he has done me, that his commendation can go no further. There is nothing I would not do to gratify him. But I am not always provided with a supply for his office, neither does every subject suit him; and finally, as it is a case of

* Ex Sensebardeau, media inter Pictavos et Burdegalos via, 12 Augusti, Anno 1517. C. I do not find this name on any map I have seen. It was perhaps the name of a manor or house, where the travellers passed a night.

† Joanni Rusero Novientano. Novientum, or Novigentum, appears to be the Latin form of the name of more than one place in France, called Nogent. I cannot say, whether the Latin *Ruserus* represents a French or a German name. To solve this question I have sought for it in the modern Directories, and have not found it in Germany, or in France, but in New York.

two,—or rather many more,—of one trade, it is scarcely possible for me to accommodate one without giving offence to another. This is what took place with respect to the second edition of the *Copia;* when Bade was angry with me for some years, before I got scent of the cause of offence; though his resentment,—excellent fellow as he is,—was free from bitterness or ill-humour. But I must beg you to withdraw those words about blotting your name out of the list of my friends. I should be not only most unkind, but most ungrateful, if I let the name of Schürer be expunged from that list. When any occasion arises, I will show, if nothing else, at any rate a friendly disposition towards him.

I am surprised at the long delay that has occurred in the publication of the lucubrations of Rodolphus Agricola.† What evil Genius is it, I should like to know, that grudges our Germany this glory?

Although your letter has been so far thrown away, inasmuch your good word has added nothing to my friendly feeling for Schürer, it has served as an effectual recommendation of the writer. * * *
Ruser for the future will be counted, not among my servants, as your modesty deemed sufficient, but among my most valued friends. Farewell.

[Louvain, August], 1517.‡

Epistle 596 was addressed by Erasmus to John Cæsarius, who had lately written two letters to the author; see p. 591, 599.§ This epistle was printed at Cologne, without the apparent sanction of Erasmus, in a book, which has the following title, *Lamentationes obscurorum virorum non prohibite per sedem Apostolicam*, and at its conclusion the date, Colonie ex edibus Quentelianis Anno M.ccccc.xviij, quinto Idus Martias. But, though printed in this surreptitious way, the authenticity

† See p. 591. ‡ Basileæ An. M.D.XVII. *Farrago.* See p. 608.

§ It may be observed that Cæsarius remained for many years a confidential friend of Erasmus. This is shown by an epistle addressed to him on the 16th of December, 1524. C. 840 (719).

of the letter is beyond question, being acknowledged by Erasmus himself in his epistle to Wolsey, dated 18 May, 1518. C. 323 E F. He there describes it as a letter of his own, which had been copied by stealth and published at Cologne,* and cites it in evidence of his own disapproval of the *Julius Exclusus*, the authorship of which he disavows in a somewhat indirect fashion.† All the other letters contained in this volume of 'Lamentations' appear to be of the same openly fictitious character as the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, which were published in two parts, probably in 1515 and 1517; and the Epistle to Cæsarius is preceded by a letter, composed in the same burlesque style, with the address, Franciscus Genselinus Schelmo Haphenmusio Philocapnioni, which concludes as follows:

Erasmus Roterodamus himself, that most eloquent of theologians,—loth as I am to say so,—in an epistle to John Cæsarius, strongly protests against receiving commendation from us. Not to appear to be alone in our wisdom, I send you inclosed a correct copy of his letter, so that we too may repent of the crime we have committed, and admit ourselves to be the most shameless of scoundrels.‡ Farewell, from Freiburg, the sixth day of the Greek Calends.

Epistle 596. Lamentationes obscurorum virorum etc. p. 8; C. 1622 (160).

Erasmus to John Cæsarius.

I highly disapproved of the *Epistles of Obscure Men*. Their pleasantry might amuse at the first glance, if such a precedent had not been too aggressive. I have no objection to the ludicrous, provided it be without insult to any one. But it was more annoying, when in the second edition my name was mixed up in it: as if it were not enough to play the fool, without exposing us to prejudice, and in a great

* epistola mea, quam quidam Coloniæ furtim descriptam evulgarunt. C. 323 E.

† See, as to the *Julius Exclusus*, which was beyond doubt the work of Erasmus, pp. 448, 449 (where some reference ought to have been made to Epistle 596), and p. 514.

‡ impudentissimos esse ganeones.

measure destroying the fruit obtained by so much laborious study. And even that has not been deemed sufficient; a second book, like the former one, has made its appearance, in which there is frequent mention of persons, to whom I am quite sure that tricks of this kind are anything but agreeable. How inconsiderate is the conduct of these writers, not only in their own interest, but in that of all to whom Literature is dear!

But of all such incidents none has given me so much annoyance, as the report (if true), which has been brought me by my servant James, that there is some sort of publication in the hands of many persons at Cologne, directed against Pope Julius, and representing him as excluded by St. Peter from heaven. I had heard some time ago of some such play being acted in France, where there has always been an excessive licence with respect to nonsense of this kind; and I suppose that somebody has turned it into Latin. I wonder what people are thinking of, when they waste their leisure and their labour in such a way. But I am still more surprised to find that there are persons who suspect, that such signal folly has proceeded from me. I attribute this to the fact, that the language used is perhaps not such bad Latin! I did write playfully in the *Moria*, but without drawing blood, and without any mention of names; our satire was aimed at the manners of men, not against the character of any man. But if what my servant has told me is true (as to which I am not yet satisfied), I beg you to do your best to suppress any such wicked trifles, before they are printed; not that their authors deserve to have this service done them, but that it is our business to have regard to the general credit of literature, which is undeservedly tainted by such freaks. As far as I am myself concerned, every one that knows me will, I am sure, understand, that dreary compositions of this kind have always been extremely displeasing to me, as unworthy of learned and honourable men.

Give my salutation to James Hoorn.* It is impossible to say how delighted I have been with his letter. As to the settlement of the Reuchlin litigation, I hope that what you report is true.† I was told by a person from Alkmaar, that you had written me another letter, but I have not yet received it. Farewell, most learned Cæsarius.

Antwerp, 16 August, 1517.‡

We conclude from the above date, that Erasmus, before finally settling himself at Louvain, had made a visit to Antwerp,—in order, as we may suppose, to superintend the packing and removal of such books and papers as he may have left in that city in the charge of Peter Gillis. Of this visit we have further evidence in a letter addressed to Erasmus by an Italian traveller, Francesco Chiregatto, dated, 28 Aug. 1517, C. 1627 B, from which it appears that the writer, 'flying from the plague in England,' had been lately enquiring for Erasmus at Antwerp, and had been informed, that he had left that place on the day before the enquiry was made, in order to return to his studies at Louvain.

With the above letter, the date of which brings us to the latter part of Erasmus's fifty-first year, we may fitly close a somewhat long chapter, and with it a work, in which we have endeavoured to carry out the objects proposed upon our title-page,—to arrange in chronological order, and to illustrate by translation and commentary, the earlier portion of the extant correspondence of Erasmus. We part with the writer at a time when, having removed to Louvain, he was completing his arrangements for what may be regarded as a new period of his life.

* Jacobo Hornensi. Jacob van Hoorn, called Ceratinus in later letters of Erasmus, claimed him as a countryman. See a letter of Erasmus to him, dated from Louvain, 17 April, 1519. C. 428 (405).

† See Epistle 589, pp. 599, 600.

‡ Antuerpie Postridie Assumpte Virginis Anno M. ccccc. xvij *Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum.*

APPENDIX A. Epistle 253. See p. 73.

It should be noted, that in the documents printed for the first time in our Appendix, the original spelling is retained, except in the case of obvious errors of transcription; the reading of the manuscript, where any important deviation is made, being given in the Notes.

The first extract supplies the original text of the appeal, made to Lord Mountjoy in the name of the University of Cambridge, to assist in meeting the expense of the new Greek Professorship, held by Erasmus. See p. 73. A copy of this document is preserved in the Record Office, among other Letters and Papers of the time of Henry VIII. Coll. 5, num. 217. Brewer, Abstracts, i. 4428.

[Universitas Cantabrigiensis Gulielmo domino Montioio S.]

Si nulla in te ad Grecas literas auxilii spes subesset, nobilissime Montioie et Mecenas noster unice, vel necessitas nos stimulare nunc deberet ut sepius et iterum opem imploraremus tuam. Eo enim peruentum est unde sine tuo et aliorum beneficio mouere nobis non liceat. Immensum stipendium est quod preceptori Greco sumus polliciti. Vires nostre exigue atque * tantum non exhauste [sunt]: professorem non nisi numerata pecunia detinet. Hanc qui nos persolvemus, qui non habemus? Ita aut literarum Grecarum iactura faciunda, aut onerandi amici, quorum fauori, non frustra ut speramus credentes, fidem nostram maiore quam pro uiribus summa onerauimus. Et nisi tu beneficii tui magnitudinem dandi celeritate ornare uelis, iam iam labascunt promissa nostra. Vnicum remediam tua amicitia est, quam nobis debere te, ipse pro summa tua modestia non modo non inficias ire sed predicare quoque lubentissime sustines. Nisi moderationem iam tibi † notam haberemus, non ‡ diceremus hoc esse tempus, quo de nobis vel non rogatus bene mereri

* arce *in MS.* † ad tui *in MS.* ‡ *Perhaps we should read* nonne.

occupares? Generis nobilitatem parentibus debes; Academie nostre, ut ipse dicere soles, animi. Parentibus in extrema necessitate positis opem non afferre impium putatur. At quanto anima corpore est prestantior, tanto preceptoribus quam parentibus plura unusquisque debet. Per nobilitatem ergo tuam, nobilissime Montioie, quam virtutum et literarum ymaginibus magis quam auorum te estimare scimus, agnosce nunc nos amicos tuos, si vires respicias, pusillos, si animi gratitudinem, vel potentissimis non cessuros.

APPENDIX I. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Epistles 264, 268, 269, 270, 272.

The following five letters of Erasmus, of which contemporary copies, all written on the same sheet of paper, are preserved in the English Record Office,—Papers &c. t. Hen. VIII. ix. 359,—are translated or described in pp. 85, 86, 92-98. Compared with his published correspondence they may serve to illustrate the distinction, which the writer himself draws in the first of these letters, between an *extemporarium epistolium* and an *accurata epistola*.

The addresses of Epistles 264 and 272 are wanting in the originals, but it may be assumed that Epistles 264, 268, 270, and 272 were all written by Erasmus to William Gunnell of Landbeach near Cambridge, the friend in whose charge Erasmus left his horse, when he went for a few days to London in September, 1513 (see p. 91), and to whom Epistles 267, 278, 279, 283 and 286, all printed in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, are addressed. Epistles 268 and 270 have, in the copies that have been preserved, their addresses as originally written; the first being addressed *M[agistris] G. et Omphredo*; the other *Honorato viro G. ludi magistro*; and we cannot doubt that *G.* stands in each case for *Guilielmo,* the correspondents being William Gunnell (see p. 91), and Humphrey, who may probably have been his brother.* Of the other letters copied on the same sheet, Epistles 264 and 272 are without any address, but may be taken to be part of the same correspondence, and addressed to William Gunnell, for whose reading their contents appear to be appropriate. With Epistle 268,

* On the copy in the Record Office we find, in the same hand as the copied letters, the note, *Erasmus G.S.* & *O.S.* In the original addresses *S.* may have stood for *salutem*.

is inclosed a draft letter to Robert Smith (the father of Erasmus's pupil servant, John Smith), which, being written in Latin, was to be translated into English by Humphrey, and the translation returned to Erasmus for his signature. The first letter, presumably addressed to William Gunnell, is dated the 24th of August, [1513].

Epistle 264. See pp. 85, 86.

[*Erasmus Mag°. Guilielmo.*]

Quod tuis literis ad Bassum nostrum petiisti a me curari, curaui, et ne grauate quidem, utinam non minori iudicio quam diligentia; uidelicet ut ad te uenirent B. Mantuani poemata (de quibus quum hic eras conuenimus) una [cum] Laurentio Valla, Isidoro, et Angelo Politiano multo politissimo; quos bibliopole nostri pluris* pendunt quam credidisti; quasi defunctos iam uita redderent ornatiores, qui quidem cum uiuebant ceteros ornare studuerunt. Sed si iudicium meum postules, Isidorus rem† pascit magis quam ornat, Laurentius et Angelus ornant magis; at Babtista noster omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci. Hos comitatur non invtilis seruus An. Mancinellus, qui si placeat, maneto, sin minus, redito. Mamotrectus pluribus mendis scatet quam pardus maculis.

Habes extemporarium‡ nunc quidem epistolium. Habuisses longissimam epistolam et accuratam, si non dedisses nullam. Vale. Nono calendas Septembris.

Epistles 268, 269. See pp. 92, 93, 94.

[*Erasmus*] *M*[*agistris*] *G*[*uilielmo*] *et Omphredo, amicis vnicis.*

Ego cum hac belua loqui non possum, uos ei persuadete ut intelligat me illi plusquam patrem§ fuisse tum in animo

* pluris. *Conj. MS. illegible.*
† Isodrem *MS.*
‡ Extemporīm *MS.*
§ pater *MS.*

curando tum corpore ; nec perdidisse tempus suum, sed profecisse copiosius quam in ulla scola profecisset.

Si equo meo opus est calceis, curate ut addantur. Nam fortassis hic longius ibit. Est negotium, quod ad breve* nos hic remoratur ;† hoc finito,‡ die mercurii adero cum Watsono. Bene valete, et asino huic mea causa non nihil humanitatis exhibete.

Si uacat Omfredus, velim Anglice scribat hoc argumentum, et ad me mittat per Joannem ut subsignem.

[*Erasmus Roberto Smith.*]

Salue, Roberte Smith et amice singularis. Non mihi prospectum de ministro. Nam is quem tunc certum existimabam, mutata sententia, transiit§ mare. Tamen, ut mihi decretum est tibi per omnia morem gerere, Iohannem mitto, cui non alius fui quam pater et plusquam pater in omnibus, hoc est, et in corpore et in animo curando. Hoc indoles illius promeruit, itaque non penitet officii. Non omnino fecit iacturam temporis sui, quanquam primi profectus non statim appareant.‖ Plus habet bone latinitatis quam intra terminum parasset in ludo Rogeriano. Quod non vapulaverit¶ apud me, non commeruit,** et generosus animus longe melius ducitur quam trahitur. Si repperisti illi magistrum magis idoneum, equidem et pueri et vestro nomine gaudeo ; est enim hec natura digna optimo artifici. Fortasse doctiorem reperies, amantiorem reperies neminem,†† etiam si Britanniam totam scruteris.‡‡ Bene vale cum optima conjuge tua totaque familia.

[Oct. 1513.]

* & bre *MS.*
† remouet *MS.*
‡ hæc inuitos *MS.*
§ transeat *MS.*
‖ apparerit *MS.*
¶ vapulaui *MS.*
** *Reading of MS. uncertain.*
†† nemonem *MS.*
‡‡ scruteris. *Conj. MS. illegible.*

Epistle 270. See p. 95.

[*Erasmus Mag°. Guilielmo.*]

Res hic eodem loco sunt : ut adhuc incertus omnino sim an istuc mihi sit recurrendum. Rursum periit quidam non longe a Collegio ; et medicus Bont periit ruri, et domi filiola. Quare gratum mihi facies, si non transferes lectos intra quadriduum. Si venio, veniam cum Watsono nostro. Bene vale.

Honorato viro G.
ludi magistro, amico singulari.

[Cantabrigiæ, Oct. 1513.]

Epistle 272. See pp. 97, 98.

[*Erasmus Mag°. Guilielmo.*]

Ad nonas calendas nouembres accepi tuas literas omnis amoris et humanitatis plenissimas, quibus tunc non respondi, non quod non volui (velim certe et libentissime), sed quod per alias iamtunc imminentes occupationes non potui. Nimis enim ingratum hominem (quid dixi hominem) immo prorsus inhumanum agam, si labores aliquos, ubi tua est causa, detrectauero. Non enim oblitus sum quantum me tibi deuinxisti amore, studio, labore tuo, et quasi hec omnia parum multa magnaque sint (que mihi sane semper uisa sunt amplissima), etiam donis non abstines. Nam ut cetera taceam (dies non sufficeret unus), una cum epistolio caseo me donasti et eo quidem neutiquam uulgari. Quam ob rem, quum tot tantisque in me tuis donis tenuis nostra supellex non respondeat, ne nihil responderem, ex aliena (quod aiunt) officina M. Vegii codicillum de pueris probe sancteque*

* stēq *MS.*

educandis eo lubentius dono tibi dedi quo magis videatur conducere tuo officio. Vale et Deum pro me precare.†

Sexto idus nouembris.

APPENDIX K. Epistle 277A. See pp. 110-112.

The following proposed Dedication to Wolsey of a Translation from Plutarch, dated 4 Jan. [1514] which is translated, pp. 111, 112, is preserved in the University Library at Basel. Cod. Bas. A.N. vi. 1, fol. 1. For a careful copy I am indebted to M. Bernoulli, the Librarian of the University. The dedication actually sent (Epistle 277B in our Catalogue), is in the printed collections of Epistles, and is partly translated in p. 113.

Ornatissimo viro, christianissimi Regis Anglorum elemosynario magno, episcopo Lyncolniensi nominato, Erasmus Rot. S.D.

Cum et antea jam dudum vererer tantum virum tantulo aggredi munusculo, contantemque hinc tua inuitaret bonitas, hinc deterreret magnitudo, accessit interim tot ornamentis dignitas etiam episcopalis. Verum ubi mecum reputarem, nihil humanitati decessisse, si quid accessit honoribus, ausus sum hoc qualicunque xeniolo et meum in te animum testificari, et tuum ambire fauorem. Est libellus perpusillus quidem ille, sed, ut eum compendio laudem, Plutarchi, quo viro nihil unquam produxit, fœcunda alioqui magnorum ingeniorum parens, Græcia neque doctius neque venustius. Et haut scio, an cuiquam alii contigerit eximiam eloquentiam cum exactissima rerum cognitione copulasse. Nihil hic nisi meras gemmas loquitur. Si quid offendet, nobis imputato. Bene vale, et Erasmum vel inter extremos clientulos tuos asscribito. Cantabrig. pridie nonas Janũ.

* por me preca *MS.*

APPENDIX L. Epistle 465. See p. 408.

The following dedicatory Epistle of Peter Gillis to Gaspar Halmal, forming the Preface to the Collection of Epistles, entitled, *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum ad Erasmum et huius ad illos*, printed at Louvain, 1516, is translated in our Introduction, p. lxxiv.

Generoso Domino Gasparo Halmalo, juris utriusque doctori, ac insignis oppidi Antuerpiensis Tribuno, Petrus Ægidius, eiusdem oppidi Scriba, S.D.

Nec scribere, nec eloqui possum, Domine Gaspare clarissime atque idem jurisconsultissime, quantum mihi doloris accesserit, ubi te febri laborantem inaudieram ; quæ, ut te incolumi pereat male, superos quæso. Tuam enim salutem tanti ac meam facio. Nam cum mihi fueris etiam ab ipsa pueritia amantissimus, non potui non vehementer, ut addecuit, ingemiscere.

Cogitanti itaque mihi, qua ratione valetudinem tuam, quæ mihi quoque, haud dubium, molestissima est, quasi alexipharmaco quopiam subleuarem, visum est ex ingenti epistolarum aceruo aliquot deligere, quas Erasmus Roterodamus, Theologus ille vel omnium consensu doctissimus eloquentissimusque, ad claros et insignes viros scripsisset, aut ad hunc illi ; sed pauculas modo, quas diuinabam tibi gratissimas fore ; quanquam nihil non sciam tibi esse gratum, quicquid ab Erasmo proficiscitur, qui quidem de homine (ut dignus est) tam amanter sentis, ut amantius non possis. Et illius egregiæ dotes sic orbi uniuerso notæ sunt, sic excellentium virorum literis celebratæ, sic quoque summi Pontificis authoritate comprobatæ, ut nullius egeant suffragio. Ipse vero hoc est animo, ut prorsus huiusmodi subsidia refugiat. Sed ut esset quo te oblectares, has epistolas collegi tibi, quæ, qua es erga virum charitate, et quo soles oblectamine capi,

quoties Erasmeum aliquid offertur, te,* uti spero et opto, pristinæ sanitati restituent. Cura igitur, ut mox te et saluum et nitidum videamus. Vale.

Antuerpiæ, Sexto Calendas Octobres, An. M.D.XVI.

APPENDIX M. Epistle 533. See p. 524.

The following epistle, dated the 15th of March [1517], is printed in *Farrago Epistolarum*, p. 229, but is not found in any of the later collections. It may naturally have occurred to Erasmus, that it was inexpedient to call unnecessary attention to the misfortune, which had given occasion to his Dispensation. The letter is given below as it is printed in *Farrago*.

Erasmus Ammonio suo S.D.

Accepi literas pontificis nomine, & item à Vuingorniensi,† planè amicas, sed quæ nonnihil oleant pecuniam : Ita quod impetratũ est exaggerat, & de Datarij duricia queritur. Addit brevis ad te exemplar, sed ex mea mutatione, ut uidetur emendatum. Sed adijcit mihi ad te concedendum : quod si necesse est, fac me q̃primum certiorem : tametsi mare istud male odi. Tamen age faciemus, & Theseum præstabimus, qui Marorni‡ itq; redditq; uiam toties, & coram nostro fungemur officio. Sin necesse nō est, præscribe quid nos facere uelis, et quantum sit numerandum : consulto tamen Sixtino, an breue recte habeat : posteaq; ille iam τῆς ἐρασμικῆς δυσδαιμονίας est cõscius. Vbi cognouero, quo pacto tuum istum in me animum mi Ammoni mortaliũ, quos hactenus expertus sum, candidissime, pensare, uel potius agnoscere possim, nisi rebus omnibus omissis adnitar, non recuso quo minus Erasmi nomen inter ingratissimos scribas. Bene uale. Antuuerpiæ. Id. Mart.

* et te. *Epistolæ Aliquot.* † *Sic. Read* Vigorniensi. ‡ Marorni, *sic.*

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* A letter of Dorpius has by an oversight been inserted in two places. See Epistles 427, 498, pp. 306, 458. The latter may be regarded as its true position.

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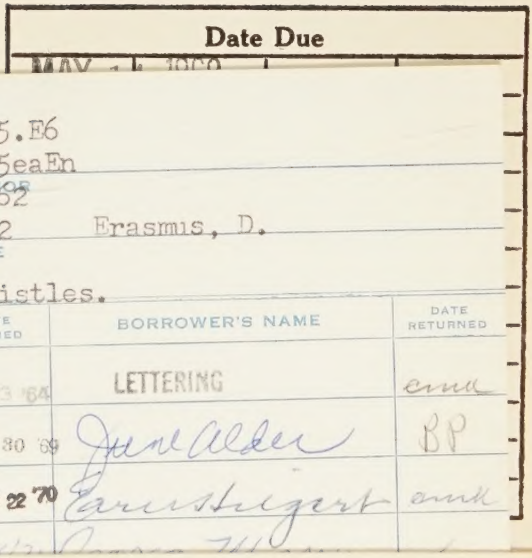

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